



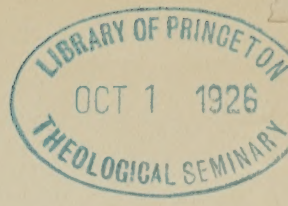
10/1/26

LIBRARY OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

PRINCETON, N. J.

**PURCHASED BY THE
MRS. ROBERT LENOX KENNEDY CHURCH HISTORY FUND.**

BR 555 .D4 W3 1925
Waterston, Elizabeth.
Churches in Delaware during
the revolution



CHURCHES IN DELAWARE

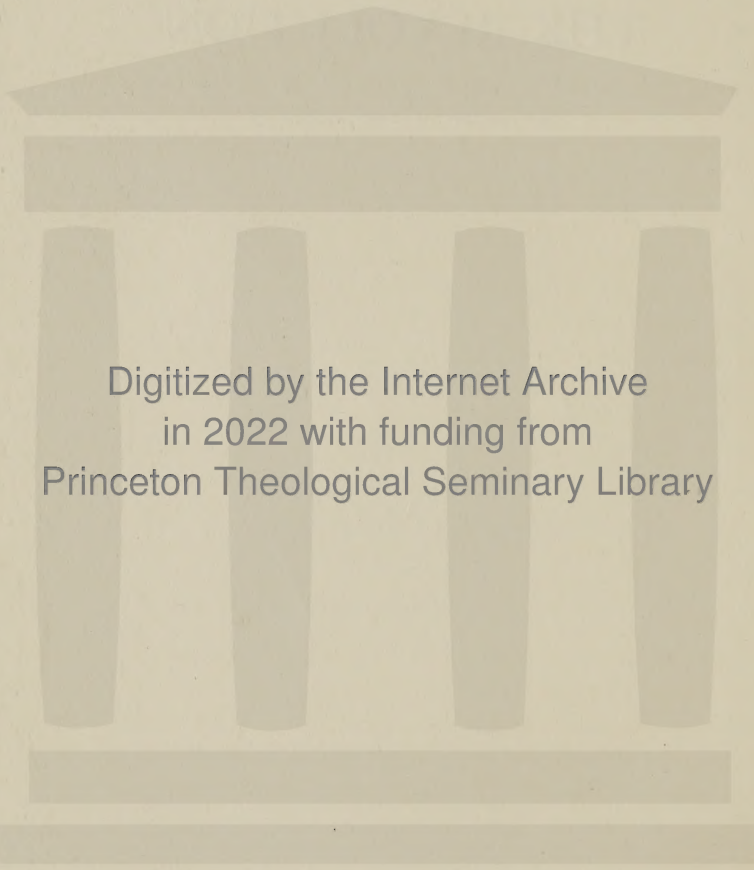
DURING

THE REVOLUTION

WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THEIR
SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH

By
Elizabeth Waterston

Published by
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE
WILMINGTON - DELAWARE
1925



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

P R E F A C E

The present study is an attempt to show the influence of religious forces in Delaware during the Revolution. It was begun in a seminar under Professor M. W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, and subsequently revised under his supervision, and presented as a Master's thesis.

The writer wishes to take this opportunity to thank Professor M. W. Jernegan for his sympathetic directions in the course of her researches, and to show her appreciation for the interest taken in the work by Col. Geo. A. Elliott, President of the Delaware Historical Society, who has made provision for its publication. The assistance of Dean H. V. Ames, of the University of Pennsylvania, who gave valuable suggestions as to form, the approval of Mr. Walter G. Tatnall, formerly state archivist for Delaware, as to the authenticity of the material, and for critical readings by Judge Richard S. Rodney, ex-Judge David T. Marvel, Robert H. Richards, Attorney and others is fully appreciated. Responsibility for the final form and contents rests entirely with the writer.

The writer has had access to the libraries of the following institutions: The University of Chicago, The Library of Congress, the University of Pennsylvania, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Free Library of Wilmington, and wishes to express her thanks to the officials of the same for their assistance

March 5, 1925.

E. W.

CHAS. L. STORY COMPANY
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

CHURCHES IN DELAWARE
DURING
THE REVOLUTION

CONTENTS

PREFACE

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION. - - - - -	I
------------------------------------	---

CHAPTER II. SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH OF THE DENOMINATIONS. - - - - -	3
--	---

1. Baptists
2. Catholics
3. Episcopalians
4. Lutherans
5. Methodists
6. Presbyterians
7. Quakers

CHAPTER III. ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCHES TOWARD THE REVOLUTION, - - - - -	21
---	----

1. Baptists
2. Episcopalians
3. Methodists
4. Presbyterians
5. Quakers

CHAPTER IV. ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCHES TOWARD EDUCATION. - - - - -	50
---	----

1. The Beginnings of Education
2. The Dutch and the Swedes
3. Baptist Education

4. Episcopalian Education
5. Presbyterian Education
6. Quaker Education
7. Wilmington Schools,
 - (1) Private Schools
 - (2) The Old Academy
 - (3) Friends' School
8. Newark Academy,
 - (1) Its Character
 - (2) Its Importance
9. Kent County Schools,
 - (1) Character of the People in Kent County
 - (2) Types of Schools
10. Sussex County Schools,
 - (1) The First Schoolmaster
 - (2) The First Girls' School in America

CHAPTER V. SLAVERY IN DELAWARE DURING THE
 REVOLUTION. - - - - - 72

1. Laws Relating to Slavery
2. The Baptists and Slavery
3. The Episcopalians and Slavery
4. The Lutherans and Slavery
5. The Methodists and Slavery
6. The Presbyterians and Slavery
7. The Quakers and Slavery.

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION. - - - - - 83

APPENDIX

LIST OF CHURCHES IN DELAWARE IN 1776 - - - - - 86

1. By Denominations
2. By Counties

STATISTICAL TABLES - - - - - 107

1. Numerical comparison of churches by counties.
2. Churches according to population in 1776.

Diagram showing the comparison of the number of Churches in each denomination in 1776.

Diagram showing the number of Churches in each County in 1776.

Diagram showing the numerical strength of the Patriots, Loyalists, and Non-Combatants in Delaware, in 1776.

Diagram showing the numerical strength of the Patriots, Loyalists and Non-Combatants by Counties, in 1776.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The period of the American Revolution is marked by many issues and events which involved the political, social and economic problems of the colonists in their relationship with the mother country. The attempt of the colonists to adjust the social ideals, and the political and economic schemes which they had brought with them, to their new environment, brought about a reaction which terminated in the Declaration of Independence, and, incidentally to their final separation from Great Britain. The first step toward independence was taken when the colonists came over from Europe; and every successive wave of immigration which came under the spell of the new environment tended to increase the desire for freedom.

This situation was particularly true of Delaware, which had been subjected to a series of waves of immigration for more than a century before the Revolution. From Sweden, Holland, England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland they came, not in "single files, but in battalions." In some cases, as for example, the Swedes and the Dutch, they formed colonial groups before they left the mother country, with the full sanction of their government to carry on trade with the Indians, and to act as an agency of trade between the old and the new world. On the other hand, some came over as fully organized religious groups, with ministers, church officers, and all other equipment ready to carry on religious worship according to their desires. Such an organization was the Baptist denomination who formed a group of sixteen members in Wales, together with their minister, came to America, and finally located in Welsh Tract. Furthermore, we have the Episcopalians coming over under the auspices of the English government, for the purpose of establishing the Church of England in America. The Quakers, too, entered the arena during the seventeenth century, under the protecting arm of the Penn

Government, and took their places in little sections of the Peninsula. Another denomination, the Presbyterians, however, came over in the seventeenth century, not as a group, but as individuals, unorganized, but peculiarly independent in their ideas of religion and government. With this view of the race elements and religious forces that entered into the early history of Delaware, we can more easily understand the forces that were at work among the various denominations at the time of the American Revolution.

In the pages which follow, we must bear in mind that during the course of three quarters of a century many changes had taken place relative to the various denominations. We shall find out, as far as historical evidence has been available, that the Swedes and the Dutch, who represented the Lutherans, have been absorbed by the English, or, to be more exact, the people of Great Britain; that the Quakers and the Baptists, who managed to stay on the stage from the time of their existence in America, were of little moment, as far as Delaware was concerned, at the outbreak of the Revolution; that the Presbyterians and Episcopalians were still contending for supremacy, with more vigor than they had shown during the early years of their existence. In considering these denominations that were still intact at the outbreak of the Revolution, we shall try to present, in a small way, the work they have accomplished in the cause of education, the welfare of the negroes and the Indians; and, also, their general attitude toward the Revolution.

CHAPTER II

SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH OF THE DENOMINATIONS

THE BAPTISTS

The "Welsh Tract Church" has the distinction of being the first Baptist Church in Delaware. The history of this church is extremely interesting from the fact that it was organized in Wales a few weeks before starting for America, and arrived in this country a completely organized body; and from the fact that it has had a continuous existence from 1701 to the present time. This little company of sixteen, consisting of the same number of men and women,¹ was kindly received by the good people of Philadelphia, upon their arrival in September, 1701.² However, they did not tarry there very long before they decided to go to Pennepeck, Pennsylvania, where there were other Baptists awaiting their arrival. But the same spirit which had induced them to leave their native land again became apparent, when, after eighteen months, finding that they could not agree with the members of Pennepeck congregation upon points of discipline, they determined to move to Delaware.³ Fortunately for them, they had the advantage of a donation of land from Messrs. Evans, Davis and Willis,⁴ who had purchased about 30,000 acres from William Penn, in 1701, for the purpose of developing the iron industry around Iron Hill.⁵

Upon their arrival at Iron Hill, Pencader Hundred, New Castle County, Delaware, in 1703, they immediately began to build a meeting house, which was finished before the close of

¹ Edwards, *History of the Baptists in Delaware*, (In Pa. Mag. of Hist. IX, p. 49.)

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Conrad, H. C. *Hist. of Del.*, II, p. 523.

the year.¹ Dame Fortune smiled on them as they went about their daily tasks, always bearing in mind that religion was the most important factor of life. Before the close of the same year more members had joined their ranks, including eleven men and eleven women who joined them during their sojourn in Pennepeck, one man and one woman from Wales, and six men and five women by baptism, making a total of fifty-one before the close of their first year in Delaware. In 1710, they had doubled their membership, from fifty-one to 102; by 1717 they could boast of three times this number.² Thus we have conclusive evidence that a religious body that could increase from sixteen to one hundred and sixty members from the time of their organization, or, in other words, one thousand per cent., must have had a tremendous influence upon the people with whom they came in contact.

Although we have no available evidence to show that this rate of increase of membership continued up to the year 1736, it is safe to surmise that the church had been very active up to that time; for in that year twenty-two members left the mother church in Delaware to form a Welsh Baptist Church at what they called "Welsh Neck," on the Peedee River in South Carolina. That they were successful there is no doubt, for among these pioneer churchmen were Abel Morgan, who became a noted minister, James James, a ruling elder, and Thomas Evans, a noted Deacon. But they did not leave this settlement alone to struggle against the hardships which were always to be found in the primitive regions of America, for in 1737, the records tell us that fifteen more members were added to their ranks. Again, from 1739 to 1741, forty-seven recruits were added to the Peedee Branch of the Welsh Tract Church. This devoted daughter of the mother church was also a credit to the Baptists, for we are told by the great historian of the Baptists, that by 1772 she had "shot out into seven branches."³ Thus we can see, to some extent, that the settlement of the Baptists in the Welsh Tract must have had a strong relationship to those of other colonies.

¹ *Pa. Mag. of Hist.*, IX, p. 49.

² *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, IX, pp. 49-51.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

Of the other Baptist Churches in Delaware, at the outbreak of the Revolution, there seems to be some doubt. Mr. Vedder says: "The Welsh Tract Church was the only Baptist Church in Delaware for more than three-quarters of a century."¹ Morgan Edwards, author of *Materials Towards a History of the Baptists in Delaware State*, says that about "the year 1733 eight or nine families (chiefly members of the Welsh Tract Church) made a settlement at Duck Creek, in Kent County, from whence the same religion spread southward to Cowmarsh and Mispillion, westward to Georgetown in Maryland, and eastward to Fast-landing."² The same author observes that two ministers of the Baptist faith came from Virginia in 1778-1779, and formed churches about 1779.³ There were also meetings at private houses, but no church was built until after 1791,⁴ in Broad Creek Hundred. The church at Cowmarsh came under the missionary influence of the Virginia preachers, and originated about the same time as that of the Sounds.⁵ Duck Creek Church was probably organized before the Revolution, about 1771.⁶ According to Morgan Edwards, this church also branched out about 1785,⁷ but it kept within the confines of Delaware, or the neighboring states.

Of these churches Duck Creek Baptist Church deserves a little more attention than the others; for we are inclined to believe that it was functioning about the time of the Revolution, if not when hostilities with the mother country came to a crisis. Apparently the Presbyterians had settled there prior to 1733, and had services in a small church, which they afterwards abandoned. This building was used by the Baptists as a place of worship before 1776. Although the congregation of this community was a strong branch of the Welsh Tract Church, up to the date of the Revolution, they did not establish a separate church until 1781.⁸

¹ Vedder, *History of the Baptists*, p. 82.

² *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, IX, p. 47.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, IX, p. 203.

THE CATHOLICS

About twenty-nine miles north of the Welsh Tract Church were a few Catholic families centered in a little village commonly known as Mount Cuba. In those days it was customary for the wealthier Catholic families to have a room set aside for divine worship. Hence we find a wealthy Irish gentleman, called Cornelius Hallahan, who came to Delaware in 1730, extending the hospitality of his home for the cause of his religion.¹ Here services were held for the benefit of the members of the Catholic faith, by Jesuits from Bohemia Manor, Maryland. According to the family records of Mr. Hallahan, services continued in his home until a church was built at Coffee Run, in 1785.² From this evidence we may surmise that the home of Cornelius Hallahan was practically a Catholic Church at the time of the outbreak of hostilities between England and her colonies.

But, aside from the evidence from the Catholics themselves, a further reason for the conjecture that there was a Catholic organization there in 1776, is furnished by Rev. Philip Reading, a missionary at Appoquinimy, in his report to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in the years 1760 and 1775. He gave evidence that there was a Popish seminary in the neighborhood.³ Yet, as far as any conclusive evidence is to be found for the year 1776, we do not feel justified in giving credit for anything but an inarticulate existence of this church. However, we do know that the Catholics are very conscientious about attending religious services, and, even today, when it is inconvenient for members of the family to attend church, if it is possible for them to afford it, they have little shrines built in their houses. For these reasons we have given the above Catholic church a place among the churches that were extant at the outbreak of the Revolution.

¹ Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, I, 121-4.

² Ibid, p. 128.

³ Perry, W. S., *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania*, A. D. 1680-1778. pp. 313 and 468.

In the lower part of New Castle County, the Apoquiminick Mission was established by Jesuits from Bohemia Manor, Maryland, before 1750. In this neighborhood, Father Matthew Sittenberger purchased a farm in 1772. Some time afterwards, a chapel called St. Mary's was built at Coffee Run, the name of the farm, in Mill Creek Hundred. We do not know the exact date of erection, but there is reason to believe that this mission was functioning at the time of the Revolution. The successor of Father Sittenberger was the Rev. Stephen Faure, one of the many Frenchmen driven from San Domingo during the negro insurrection. His assistant was the Rev. John Rosseter, who had been an officer of Rochambeau's army, during the Revolutionary War.¹

THE EPISCOPALIANS

The earliest records of the Episcopalians who held services on the Delaware, give the Rev. John Yeo the credit for being the first minister.² He apparently had his credentials sanctioned by the Court of New Castle, in December, 1677. On June 4th, 1678, he settled at New Castle, where he ministered to the people at irregular periods until 1681.³ Historians disagree about the exact date of the first establishment, but all of them admit that it was before 1690. The Dutch objected to an English minister, and succeeded after a little manouvering in securing a minister of their own denomination.⁴ The first permanent Episcopal church established in Delaware, was the Immanuel Church, in New Castle, founded in 1689. There are no records available to verify this date, but we have the circumstantial evidence to be found on a tablet which bears the inscription: "Founded, 1689, enlarged, 1820."⁵ But the clergy found little attraction in this community; and the first missionary sent there by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, left on his own accord to find a more agreeable location.⁶

¹ Catholic World, Vol. 4, p. 692.

² Conrad, H. C., *History of the State of Delaware*, II, p. 758.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 758.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 759.

Next the Rev. Thomas Jenkins came for a year, and then went to Appoquinimy, a few miles away. His death a few months later is reported by the Rev. John Talbot, in a letter to the Society. He says: "Poor brother Jenkins at Appoquinimink was baited to death by mosquitoes and blood-thirsty gal-knippers, which would not let him rest day or night till he got a fever and died of a calenture; nobody that is not born there can abide there till he is mosquito proof."¹ This serves as an illustration of the many tribulations that had to be borne by the poor missionaries who settled on the coast of Delaware at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The settlement and growth of the Episcopalians in Delaware is so closely allied with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that a brief outline of this venerable organization may not be amiss at this point, in order to understand their sudden growth at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and their gradual decline in the decade just preceding the Revolution. Through the influence of the Rev. Mr. Bray, of Maryland, a charter was secured in 1701.² This document provided for "learned and orthodox ministers,"³ for the British colonies, and permitted the members to make such provisions as they would deem necessary for the "Propagation of the Gospel in those Parts." Many noted bishops, and other prominent men of England, were made members of the Society, among whom the Bishop of London was the most active.³ The chief by-laws adopted by the Society were: (1) that an annual sermon should be preached by some member of the Society, when the reports of the business of the year were received; and, (2) that each officer should be compelled to take an oath binding him to the faithful discharge of his duties, before he could be recognized as fully qualified to undertake the position.⁴

According to a well organized plan of the Society, a committee was sent to all the colonies to investigate the existing con-

¹ Conrad, H. C., *History of the State of Delaware*, II, 759.

² Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, I, 138.

³ New York Colonial Documents, VII, 362-364.

⁴ The Charter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts precedes every annual report.

ditions. The result of this investigation was a report to the Society which revealed the fact that many other denominations were stationed in Delaware, in 1702, and most of them had crossed the ocean in order to be free from the restrictions of the Church of England. A record, which reminds us of the Domesday Book, was made of the location of all the dissenters and their beliefs, in order to find out where the Episcopal missionaries were most needed. So thoroughly was their inspection made that every section of the colony was visited; and so zealous did they become that they would often interrupt the Quaker meetings, in order to make a speech for the cause of the established Church. When the Quakers objected to their proceedings, the committee accused them of resisting the Crown; because the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had been chartered by the Queen's permission.¹ Such was the spirit of the committee for investigation of the conditions, who claimed the general assumption that it was a persecution of their denomination not to be held superior here as they were in England.² However, the investigation resulted in gaining many converts for the Church, and in an inspiration to build churches promiscuously over the country to such an extent that many of them were never occupied but at long intervals.³ We can see, at the outset, that the Society was doing its uttermost to make the Church of England popular in the colonies; but it was handicapped from the beginning, and became more and more so toward the period of the Revolution, when the dissenters became an important factor in the affairs of the day.

¹In considering the work of the missionaries, in the process of the development of the Church in Delaware, we must bear in mind that they were not their own masters; that the small remuneration which they received from the Society was oftentimes barely enough to supply the common necessities of life; that their headquarters was located in England.⁴ Consequently, we find them at many stages of their history, supplying several churches. For

¹ Proud, *History of Pennsylvania*, I, 365-369. See, also, note.

² *Ibid.*

³ See MS letter, quoted by Hawkins, in his *Historical Notices*, p. 35.

⁴ Tiffany, 97-98.

example, in 1724, three churches in New Castle County were under the guidance of one minister.¹ This condition of affairs was also true in Sussex County, where a missionary had to travel many miles in order to supply three congregations.² But the people of Kent County "had not been supplied with a settled minister for many years."³

In 1723, some members of the Church of England in Kent County, again petitioned the Society for a missionary, stating that they had not had a "sound and faithful minister of Jesus Christ" since 1711; and that on account of this drawback some feared that many of their members would become converts of other denominations, such as the Presbyterians and the Quakers,⁴ if something was not done to check them. In their anxiety they write the Society in the following words: "Our house for religious worship built for the service of the Church of England, is empty," while "Meeting houses are full, enthusiasts abound, the Sabbath is profaned. The interest which the Church of England once had here is in great danger of being entirely lost."⁵

We may probably raise the question why the people themselves who belonged to the Church of England did not aid in building up their churches, and in support of the missionaries. The answer could be supplied by Mr. Ross, of New Castle, in his account of the Church in 1727. According to his report, the great mass of the people were poor, such as retail merchants who sold "Goods, Rum, Sugar, and Molasses -- -- Carpenters, Smiths and Shoe Makers."⁶ It is true that about one hundred or more families belonged to the Church at this time, as compared with twenty families in 1706, and that the people were usually more prosperous than people of the same class in England were, who had similar occupations.⁷ Nevertheless, inasmuch as the missionary was concerned, there was little attempt on the part of his congregation to insure a decent salary corresponding with their own prosperity.

¹ *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society*, 1851, p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Perry, *Historical Collections*, V, p. 38.

⁵ Perry, *Historical Collections*, Vol. V, p. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Of course, gifts were sent for the adornment of the Church, and for its repairs; but no benefactions worthy of note were ever sent to the ministers or the schoolmasters.¹ The reports show that at this time there were great numbers of dissenters,—four Presbyterian meeting houses, one Anabaptist church, and two Quaker Meeting Houses, including one Lutheran, which was, practically of the same form of religion as that of the Episcopalians.² All these dissenters gave willingly to the support of their own ministers, and to the teachers when ministers could not be supplied.³ But, in spite of all these discouragements, another annoyance was added to the trials of the missionaries, in 1727, when the new Governor granted to the Presbyterians the right to issue marriage licenses. This provision not only deprived the missionaries of an extra fee, but, as they interpreted it, took from them a legal right, “since the very form of the license plainly shows that they cannot be granted, legally, by anyone but a Minister of the Church of England.”⁴ Naturally, the Episcopalians were exasperated at the turn of events which gave their enemies, the Presbyterians, so much power. One gentleman boldly suggested that it would be well if the king would take possession of the peninsula of Delaware while the title of it was under dispute between Lord Delaware and Penn’s heirs. Then he could bestow it upon the Society, who could raise money on it to pay the missionaries, and the support of a “Bishop of Suffragan.”⁵ “It would be a popular act, and would make a noise in England, and the people here would be glad to have the Society their landlords.”⁶

During the years which followed after 1727, there was practically little change in the lives of the missionaries. There were times of great encouragement, but this was speedily counteracted by the successes of the dissenters. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War we find them with only twelve churches, four in New Castle County, three in Kent County, and five in Sussex

¹ Perry, *Historical Collections*, V, p. 46.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶ Perry, *Historical Collections*, V, p. 50.

County.¹ We can not blame the missionaries for the peculiar situation in which they were involved, for they had fought a good fight in their endeavors to do their duty, as far as their consciences dictated; but they were so completely tied up with the affairs of Church and State from a strictly English standpoint that they failed to realize that they were living in "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

THE LUTHERANS

Passing to the Lutherans we shall find that they are so much like the Episcopalians that we are inclined to list them in the same class. Forming a Swedish settlement during the latter part of the seventeenth century, and under the direct control of the Swedish government in Europe, they were strictly Swedish in their manners and customs, and in their forms of religious worship. But being a small settlement, surrounded on all sides by the English colonists, they were soon amalgamated as they came into close relationship with their neighbors, by marriage, in social affairs, in political affairs, and also in their religious worship. The younger generations, growing up, quickly adopted the methods and customs of the British peoples, insisting on speaking the English language, and demanding the services of the English-speaking preachers and teachers.

To them belongs the honor of having one of the oldest churches in existence, extant in the United States at the present time. History records that the Swedes first landed on the shores of Christiana river, in Delaware, under Peter Minuit, in 1638, where they erected a fort, which they named Christina in honor of their queen.² One of their first cares, after they had obtained a shelter, and a protection against the Indians, was to build a place for divine worship,³ within the fort. Services were conducted in this little log house until the death of their first minister, Torkillus, in 1643. After his death, meetings were held until 1667, when the Crane Hook Church was built, on an area of rather

¹ See tables of denominations.

² Ferris, p. 52.

³ Kinsman, *The Old and the New*, p. 3.

low ground, not far from the old site. Missionaries were sent by the Swedish Lutheran Church in Europe to supply the needs of this community. Bjork, a missionary sent over by the King of Sweden, about 1697,¹ advised the members of the Crane Hook Church to build a more durable edifice of stone, on a more suitable location. The church, under Bjork's directions, was completed in 1698, and was formally dedicated on Trinity Sunday, 1699. It was named "Holy Trinity Church," in honor of the day.²

Since this church is one of the few seventeenth century churches in the United States that has remained intact up to the present time, a description of this unique building, as given in a letter by Bjork, November 19, 1700, to a clergyman in Sweden, may not be out of place. He says:

"Shortly after my arrival at this place I persuaded the congregation to agree in selecting a better place for a church than Tran-Hook, to-wit, Christina: and I immediately commended the work in the Lord's name, though with little money: but I never doubted, notwithstanding my unworthiness, of Divine assistance. I therefore made a bargain with bricklayers and carpenters and bound them and me so strongly, that otherwise the work would not have been finished in less than three years. We laid the first stone at the north corner on the 28th day of May, 1698. The size of the church, inside the walls, is sixty feet in length, thirty feet in breadth, and twenty feet in height. The walls are of hard gray stone, up to the windows three and a half feet thick, but above that only two feet.

"There are four doors; a large one at the west end, and a smaller one at the south. There are two smaller ones on the north side, one of which leads into the vestry room. There are two windows on the north, and two on the south, all of the same size; but there is a larger one at the east end. The roof is arched with logs, and plastered. It is covered with cedar shingles.

"The pews in the church are made of fir; the chancel is circular, and the inner banisters as well as the pulpit, are of walnut

¹ Kinsman, *The Old and the New*, pp. 3-4.

² *Ibid*, p. 4.

wood well turned. There is a single aisle, eight feet in breadth, from the chancel to the large door, and (one) across the (said) aisle from the north door to that on the south. Between the chancel and the first row of pews there is also a little way, with six pews on each side, to the cross aisle. There are also long pews along the wall for the men, from the south door to the east end; and there are seats in the chancel for the ministers. In the lower part of the church, from the north and south doors to that on the west, there is a large aisle, with eight pews on each side.”¹

At the time of the Revolution this old church was still used by the Swedes as a place of worship; but the people that attended the services were a mixed race, with their language almost entirely changed, the younger generation of Swedes preferring to speak English rather than their native tongue. In fact, the building which has been described by the old Swedish minister, was practically all that was left of the early Swedes.

THE PRESBYTERIANS

It is not exactly known at what particular period the Presbyterians began to settle in Delaware; but historians tell us that at some period before 1692, a Presbyterian minister, Samuel Davies, was at work in Sussex County.² Isolated communities were not uncommon in the colonies during the seventeenth century; and, since the Presbyterians were not organized at this time, it is not surprising that we hear little of them.³

The attempt to impose Episcopacy upon the Presbyterians in Scotland and Ireland, caused thousands of them to emigrate to America, where they could worship God according to their religious preferences. Many of these emigrants were well educated, and had been used to law and order in their manner of worship in their native land; and it was not long before they were formed into an organized body, as befitted their character. To this organization, Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania churches

¹ Ferris, Benj., *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware*, pp. 160-161.

² Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, pp. 123-124.

³ American Church History series, Vol. VI, p. 19.

belonged.¹ In these provinces, the proprietors had granted religious liberty; and for this reason, also, the Presbyterians saw fit to emigrate to America. The Presbyteries soon increased in numbers as emigrants continued to enlarge their ranks, or as members from other denominations became converted to their belief. Hence, it was found necessary, in September, 1716, to establish a Synod, by dividing the original organizations into four Presbyteries. This was the beginning of the effective work of the Presbyterians in Delaware, under the influence of the Presbytery of New Castle, and, at a later period the Presbytery of Lewes, which held jurisdiction over Maryland, and a part of Pennsylvania, as well as part of Delaware.²

In 1717, there were churches organized at New Castle, Head of Christina, Appoquinimy, or Drawyers', Welsh Tract, under the charge of the New Castle Presbytery.³ During the next thirteen years others were added to the list of members. Most of the ministers who belonged to this Presbytery were either Scotch-Irish or Scotch.⁴ There were also seventy-five elders who attended the Presbytery of New Castle.⁵ In the meantime the Presbyterians had spread out to the lower part of the Peninsula; and by 1735, four ministers of this section of country asked that they have a Presbytery of their own. Permission was granted by the Synod of Philadelphia, on September 22, 1735, to form the Presbytery of "Lewis-Town."⁶ A schism in 1741, brought about another Presbytery of New Castle;⁷ but the breach was healed in 1758,⁸ after duly considering that disunion would cripple the interests of the Presbyterian church.⁹ The two New Castle Presbyteries united a short time after the meeting of the Synod of Philadelphia, and this made the Presbyterians a strong factor in the Peninsula.

¹ Records of the Presbyterian Church, p. v. (1904 edition)

² Vallandigham, *History of the Presbytery of New Castle*, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁹ Records of the Presbyterian Church, 1766-1777. (1904 ed. p. 284.)

The strength of the Presbyterians in Delaware which was listed in the struggle with Great Britain, may be estimated, approximately, by making a comparison of the Presbyteries which belonged to the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1775. Of the eleven Presbyteries in the Synod, two were centered in the colony of Delaware.¹ Of the ministers from the colonies represented, fifteen out of one hundred thirty-five were from the Presbytery of New Castle, five out of one hundred and thirty-five from the Presbytery of Lewestown, making a total of twenty out of one hundred and thirty-five ministers from the Delaware Presbyteries.²

THE QUAKERS

The Quakers, as everyone knows, had their origin, in America, in Penn's colony, about 1682.³ No doubt this benevolent proprietor permitted his colonists to wander where they "listeth;" for we find many Friends had found their way to Delaware about this time. Their first meetings were held in private houses; but it was not long before meeting-houses, such as they were, became necessary for the convenience of the brotherhood. Among some of the earlier meeting-houses in Delaware may be mentioned the following:

1682.....	Brandywine ³
1688.....	Newark ⁴
1705.....	New Castle ⁵
1705.....	Duck Creek ⁶
1707.....	George's Creek ⁷
1708.....	Center ⁸

¹ Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 342; The Records of the Presbyterian Church name 12 Presbyteries extant in 1775, with 135 ministers.

² See Records of the Presbyterian Church, 1775.

³ Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends*, II, 404.

⁴ Michener, *Retrospect of Early Quakerism*, 95.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 112-113.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 94.

1737.....	Mill Creek ¹
1738.....	Hockessin ²
1738.....	Wilmington ²

An examination of them will show that all of these early settlements were in New Castle County, with the exception of the Duck Creek meeting-house, which was in Kent County. Most of them were not very far from the present boundary line of Pennsylvania.

The spread of the Quakers in the colonies during the early part of the eighteenth century was much more rapid than it was in the second and third quarters of the century. The reason for this change may have been due to the fact that the more progressive denominations were forcing the slow-going Quakers out of their original abodes, or that they weakened their ranks to such an extent that they ceased to exist as a religious body. It appears that they kept close to the shores of Delaware Bay, passing southward, slowly yet surely, until by 1750 they had meeting-houses at Newark, Center, New Castle, Wilmington, Duck Creek, Mush Million Creek, Little Creek, and Lewestown.³ Then they began to thin out, partly because of intermarriage with other denominations, or because they joined the churches of other denominations; and, to some extent, from the fact that they had little influence in the communities of Delaware after they had displayed such opposition to any method of warfare in 1756, and again in 1763.⁴

By 1776, there were six Quaker Meeting-houses in New Castle County, five in Kent County, and three in Sussex County, making a total of fourteen meeting-houses in the colony.⁵ This was an increase of the number reported in 1750; but the attendance at their meetings must have been very small, judging from the reports sent to the Quarterly meetings.⁶ There are instances wherein the

¹ *Ibid.*, 103.

² *Ibid.*, 95, 103.

³ Bowden, II, 248-249.

⁴ Michener, 31, 33.

⁵ See table showing churches by Counties.

⁶ Michener, 33.

Friends "grew careless of attendance," as in the case of the New Castle Meeting, which finally resulted in depriving the delinquents of certain privileges.¹ In some cases the establishment of Meeting-Houses too close together caused the decline of the weaker ones.² But, perhaps the chief cause of their decline was that William Penn's dominant principles no longer prevailed after 1756; the election which followed the defeat of General Braddock, in 1755, resulted in two-thirds of the members of the Assembly being of the war party. After this period the Quakers ceased to have control over the government of Pennsylvania, and, consequently over Delaware. The "golden age" of the Quakers was at an end when they lost control in civil affairs.³

With respect to the number of the Quaker organizations in Delaware at the time of the Revolution, it is difficult to come to any conclusion. Mr. Conrad, in his *History of the State of Delaware*, says they were "never numerous."⁴ Likewise, we have the testimony of Dr. Bray, who observes, in 1700: "And tho' the Quakers brag so much of their Numbers and Riches—yet they are not above a twelfth part in number, and bear not that proportion, that they would be thought to do, with those of the Church, in Wealth and Trade."⁵

THE METHODISTS

Strictly speaking, the Methodists do not belong within the limits of the period 1775-1776, since they were not organized into local churches; but they at least deserve some mention on account of the interest which they aroused among the people of Delaware at that time. It appears that a few seeds of Methodism were sprinkled along the highways and by-ways of the northern part of the Peninsula, as early as 1769. How many of them took root, we are not prepared to say. Bishop Asbury records in his journal, on the day that he dedicated the Methodist Church in Wilmington,

¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

² *Ibid.*, 95.

³ Bowden, II, 160.

⁴ Conrad, II, 768.

⁵ *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History*, p. 236.

named "Asbury" in honor of him, as follows: "Thus far we are come, after more than twenty years' labour in this place."¹ Without a doubt, Bishop Asbury referred to a period when Captian Webb was traveling through the Middle colonies in 1769. People who were living three-quarters of a century later claim that they could remember that he preached in "the woods" north of Wilmington, and along the banks of the Brandywine, besides other places in the neighborhood.² If this is true, Captain Webb was the apostle that introduced Methodism into Delaware.

Methodism at this time, it must be remembered, was something to be shunned by the orthodox believers; but there were thousands of people in Delaware who cared little for the word of God. Hence, when the Methodists came, with an entirely new way of presenting an old subject, the novelty of the thing attracted many hundreds who had not heard the gospel in many years. Few, however, were bold enough to open their doors to these new comers, lest they should bear the condemnation of their neighbors. Robert Furness, of New Castle, who was willing to bear the pangs of "outrageous suffering" was the first to welcome the Methodist preachers into his home; and as a result lost his customers at the public house which he kept in the town.³

From another source we have the tradition about a Miss Cloud being converted while Captain Webb was preaching in the woods around New Castle and Wilmington; and that she in turn convinced her brother Robert, of Brandywine Hundred, to have Methodism preached at their house.⁴ Shortly afterward a small society was organized; and in the course of time a chapel was built, called Cloud's chapel. Robert Cloud became one of the first preachers in Delaware, and others of the same family became leaders in the work of the Methodists.⁵ They probably preached to the scattered communities about Wilmington and New Castle, and in their own neighborhood in the extreme northern part of

¹ Lednum, *Rise of Methodism in America*, p. 55.

² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³ Lednum, *Rise of Methodism in America*, p. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xv.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xvi.

the colony. There is nothing in the records to indicate that a Methodist chapel was built before the war began.

A few attractive features concerning Methodism may be in keeping with the subject. It is of interest to know that among the sacred relics of Delaware one of the most famous is Barratt's chapel, generally known as the "Cradle of Methodism." It was in this spot where the church stands today that Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury first met on American soil; it was here that preliminaries for the formation of the Methodist church Conference was planned; it was here that the first authorized Methodist preachers in America administered sacramental ordinances to the people.¹ This little church has also the distinction of being the "third oldest Methodist church in the world."²

But, however interesting these facts may be, they do not warrant us to give the Methodists a place among the denominations that had churches extant at the beginning of hostilities between England and the colonies. Societies were probably formed, but they were so scattered that they had no definite congregations. Therefore, they can not be considered as organized churches.

¹ Barratt, N. S., *Barratt's Chapel and Methodism*, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

CHAPTER III

ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCHES TOWARD THE REVOLUTION

THE BAPTISTS

As a sect the Baptists had always been adverse to civil coercion in religious affairs; and, consequently, they hailed the Revolution with joy. To them, if successful, it would mean that they would be delivered from "oppression abroad and tyrants at home."¹ In many parts of the colonies, they had been compelled to disregard laws which they could not conscientiously obey; and, as a result, they had suffered loss of life and property.² The Revolution opened up to them new fields of action; it gave them an opportunity to overrun the Establishments through political and social influence among the patriots.³ Can we wonder at their enthusiasm in the cause for independence, when it resulted in their status being raised among their political associates? Naturally, they resolved to take every advantage of their new position. With this determination in mind, they met in their Association, and discussed, calmly and deliberately, how they should proceed to obtain their civil and religious liberty; and when they had decided on a course to pursue, they followed it consistently to the close of the Revolution.

One of the first movements of the Philadelphia Baptist Association was to call the attention of their members to the importance of joining their forces with the Continental Congress. They willingly offered their services for the cause of liberty. Not only did they bring money, goods, food, and other necessities

¹ Armitage, *History of the Baptists*, p. 789.

² *Ibid.*, 776.

³ Hawkes, *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia*, p.

for carrying on the war, but offered their lives, if need be; and they entered into some of the hardest conflicts of the Revolution.¹ When we consider what was actually accomplished by the Baptists, we are reminded of the words of George Washington to a committee of Virginia Baptists, who had consulted him about the security of their civil rights and religious freedom. He says: "I recollect with satisfaction that the religious society of which you are members has been throughout America, uniformly and almost unanimously, the firm friend of civil liberty, and persevering promoters of our glorious Revolution."² Then, coming more directly to the colony of Delaware, we have the testimony of John Adams, who was not only kindly disposed toward the Baptists, who "gives our people credit for bringing Delaware from the Gulf of Toryism to the platform of patriotism."³

Besides material aid graciously offered to Congress, the Philadelphia Baptist Association supported the cause in a spiritual way, by humility before God, by prayer for their country, and by observing certain fast days during the year.⁴ Thus, they were influential in bringing before the minds of their associates the seriousness of the war. In this time of stress and trial, they did not forget to express their gratitude for the benefits they had received as compared with their brethren who were suffering in the New England States from civil oppression as well as religious restrictions from the colonists themselves.⁵ They realized that in unity there is power; and at their meeting in Philadelphia, October, 1776, they issued a circular letter, which urged their brethren to "Take heed to maintain peace among yourselves in these days of confusion."⁶

Many of the Baptist ministers acted as chaplains in the American army, throughout the greater part of the war. Among these were the great patriot, Dr. Rodgers,⁷ who was in the Conti-

¹ Cathcart, *Baptists and the American Revolution*, p. 27.

² *Writings of George Washington*, Sparks edition, XII, 154-155.

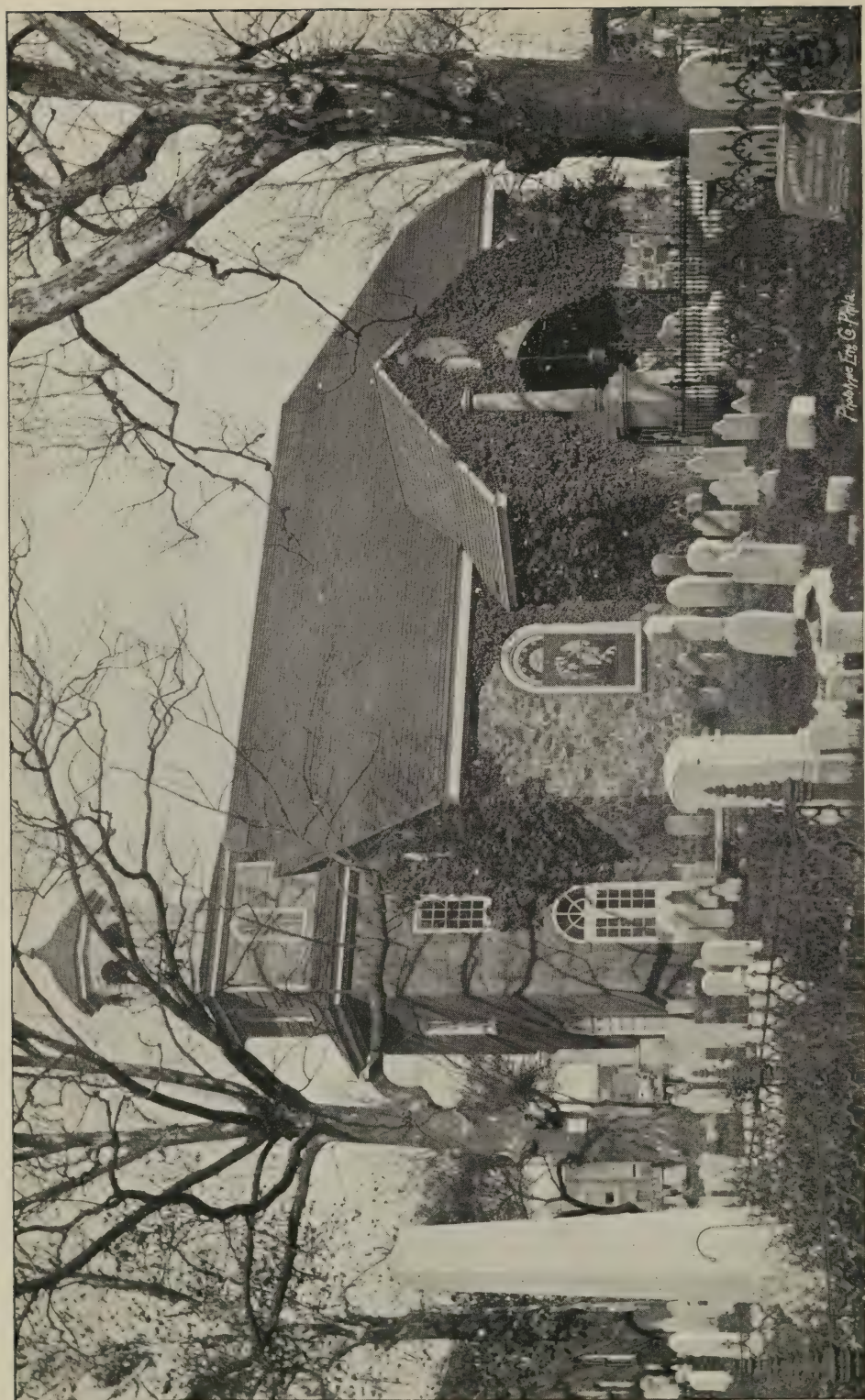
³ Adams, C. F., *Life and Works of John Adams*, Vol. X, p. 812.

⁴ *Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association*, p. 155.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁶ *Minutes of the Philadelphia Association*, p. 155.

⁷ *First Baptist Church of Philadelphia*, p. 51.



Phototype Lith. Co. Chicago

OLD SWEDE'S CHURCH



INTERIOR OF OLD SWEDE'S CHURCH

mental army, and Rev. David Jones, brigade-chaplain under General Wayne. But, there is a gloomy side to this commendable record, for Morgan Edwards, who spent the latter part of his life in Delaware, was a loyalist. One of his sons joined the British army, and another entered the service of the Colonial army.¹

THE EPISCOPALIANS

In contrast to the Baptists, the Episcopalians were, in general, kindly disposed toward England; and when the crisis came to decide whether to belong to the loyalists or to the patriots, most of the ministers were in favor of leaving the country rather than give up their principles with respect to the mother country. But even before the crisis came, there was strong evidence of their attitude relative to the civil and religious rights of the colonists.² It is generally known that while the Stamp Act, and other restrictions, were threatening the civil liberty of the colonists, a project was being cautiously, but resolutely, cherished by the English and colonial Episcopal ascendancy in the colonies. This caused a reaction among the dissenters, who united among themselves to prevent legislation that would injure their civil and religious liberty.³ This episcopacy which our forefathers dreaded, was one which had the power to exercise over civil and religious affairs, one which would "impose tithes and church rates, and set ecclesiastical courts," which would be sure "to encroach on the rights of conscience."⁴

As a rule, the clergymen of the Episcopal church were in hearty sympathy with the movement for an Episcopacy, but they had not the least sympathy for the cause of liberty. With very few exceptions, they leaned to the British crown; in religious as well as in civil affairs. Thus we can see that the protests of the colonists were not merely against a piece of stamped paper, or a

¹ Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, (Baptists) p. 87.

² Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, I, p. 165.

³ *Ibid.*, 164-165.

⁴ Gillett, I, 177.

few extra pennies paid on tea, but it was a contention for their civil rights, for freedom of conscience, and for religious liberty.¹

An examination of the reports of the missionaries in Delaware to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts will give some idea of the status of the Episcopal churches a few years previous to the Revolution. We cannot fail to observe a weakening of the strength of the Episcopalians, as compared with the increase of the numerical strength of the dissenters. Their weakness is shown, also, by the lack of ministers in their own denominations, and by the decrease in the number of letters from the missionaries.² But, we also gain from these letters an expression of the attitude of the clergy toward the Revolution. Mr. Reading, of Appoquinimy, Delaware, tells of the state of the Church in 1775. In March of that year, he writes that the Church "continues in as good a state as can be expected in these times of threatening danger."³ He shows very clearly his attitude toward his mother country, in this same letter, when he says: "Many are the rebuffs I am obliged to encounter on the subject of the present commotions, notwithstanding which I am not deterred or discouraged from inculcating the principles of Loyalty to our most gracious Sovereign and a due submission to the Powers of Government on all proper occasions."³

That he remained firm and steadfast in maintaining these principles throughout the Revolution is evident from a letter to the Society, written a year later. His letter is so well written, and shows to such a large extent the characteristics of the people of Delaware, as well as the attitude of the clergy, that a full perusal of the letter may be interesting. It follows:

¹ Gillett, I, p. 177.

² *Classified Digest of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1765-1776.*

³ Perry, W. S., *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church*, Vol. II, p. 469.

Extract:

Appoquinimink,¹ March 18, 1776.

Reverend Worthy Sir:

"I had the honor of addressing a letter to you in September last containing (among other particulars relative to my Mission), the following paragraph:

"I should now proceed in my account of some other difficulties to which I have been particularly liable as a Missionary here if everything in a private nature was not quite absorbed in the general distress with which we are all overwhelmed by the unhappy disputes subsisting betwixt Great Britian and her Colonies. It is hardly possible especially since the commencement of the late hostilities to avoid taking part on one side or the other of the dispute. Much industry has been used to render me obnoxious to the popular resentment as being inimical to the measures prosecuting here in opposition to the Parliamentary authority of the present state. *No more passive obedience and non resistance* has been scribbled with a pencil on my Church door. It was urged as a just cause of complaint against one of the Captains of the Militia that he had lugged his company to Church on the day of a public fast *to hear that old wretch* (meaning myself) *preach, who was always an enemy to the present measures.* Threats have been used to deter me from reading the prayers for the King but hitherto I have stood firm and my answers to these representations is that having taken the oath of allegiance to his present Majesty, having vowed canonical obedience at my ordination and when I was licensed by the Bishop, and subscribed the Liturgy of our Church, I do not think myself at liberty to dispense with these solemn obligations but shall persevere by God's Grace in complying with them. As to my immediate Flock I have the comfort to say that in general I live with them on the best terms and it is probably owing to some Gentlemen of influence and authority among them that notwithstanding the danger of the times I continue on a respectable and useful footing in this place.

¹The spelling of this word varies.

"I beg leave to trouble you with a repetition of the above paragraph because the letter which contained it was seized (among a number of others from different people), on board a ship bound for London, brought back to Philadelphia and submitted to a Committee of inspection as being of dangerous tendency or at least as impeaching the propriety of the public proceedings. The Committee, I am informed, after consideration thought proper to dismiss the letter as not liable to the censure which upon the first perusal it seemed to deserve.

"My Honorable Patrons are so well apprised of the present temper of America and how dangerous it is become to speak or write on public business that I shall readily be excused if I do not enlarge on so tender a subject. My letter above referred to having passed examination induces me to present you with a repetition of it, and while the pen is in my hand (tho' my arm is so weak and lame that I am scarcely able to guide it), I will venture to add that I continue steadfast in the same sentiments determined at all events to adhere thro' Divine assistance to my oaths of allegiance, ordination vows, subscription to the articles of the liturgy of our Church, and those principles of gratitude which I owe to the Venerable Society under whose protection I have exercised the Ministry and by whose bounty during thirty years I have been assisted with a comfortable support.

"I have the honor to be with all duty and respect

Reverend worthy Sir, etc.,

PHILIP READING"¹

This letter by the Rev. Mr. Reading is self-explanatory, and needs no further comment as to the relationship of the clergy with the government of England. But, since we have selected Mr. Reading as typical of the missionaries in the colonies, a few extracts from a long letter written to the Society on August 25, 1776, may enlighten us as to the subject in hand. At this time two facts stand out as problems to be met in the future, namely, the loss of his position as a missionary, and the means to make

¹ Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, p. 483.

a living for his family.¹ Naturally he seeks advice and relief from the Honorable Society, his benefactors for more than thirty years. The dilemma into which he had been entangled is explained, and he is like a boat without a rudder in a sea of troubled waters. "The Church of England as by law established has no longer an existence in those parts of America which are denominated *The Free and Independent States*," he says. He explains his reasons for the assertion as follows: "I look upon the King's supremacy and the constitution of the Church of England to be so intimately blended together that whenever the supremacy is either suspended or abrogated the fences of the Church are then broken down and its visibility is destroyed. This is actually the case in the present instance. On the second day of July the Congress at Philadelphia were pleased to declare the Colonies which had united in opposition to the measures of Great Britain 'Free and Independent States.' Upon this Declaration it was judged incompatible with the present policy that his Majesty's authority within the new states should any longer be recognized. In this sentiment the generality of our Clergy (as far as has hitherto come to my knowledge) dismissed all those prayers from the public service of the Church wherein the names of the King and the Royal Family are mentioned, and adopted in their stead a prayer for the Congress which is no other, if I am rightly informed, than the Prayers for the High Court of Parliament altered and suited to the present occasion. 'Most gracious God' say they, 'we humbly beseech thee as for the States of America in general, so especially for the High Court of Delegates in Congress at this time assembled, etc, etc'."²

Apparently, Mr. Reading could not make up his mind what to do in the emergency. Ever since he had "entered the ministry" he had been faithful to his vows, and would frequently read them over; but under the stress of the present circumstances he had studied and pondered over them more carefully than he had done in the past, and, as a result, had become more thoroughly confirmed of the duty he was under to adhere to the principles stipulated by

¹ Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, p. 483.

² Ibid, 483-484.

them. Aside from the oath of allegiance to the British government, which was necessary to prevent a subject of the King of England from joining a foreign power against him, there were duties imposed upon the Church and its officers "to maintain the King's supremacy in Church and State."¹ Under these regulations, Mr. Reading states that no one could change the form of worship. He candidly believed that such laws were necessary for the good "government of the Church and for regulating the conduct of Ministers in the ministration in it."¹ So rigid were these regulations for the government of the Church that there was "no one exception to answer special emergencies or to obviate difficulties that may arise on unforeseen occasions."¹ "Under these persuasions," says Mr. Reading, "I could not consistently with my sense of the obligation, assume the danger even of reprehension from my superiors by deliberately and of purpose altering the Liturgy of the Church, much less would I subject myself and the people under my pastoral care to the severe censure of excommunication by disobeying the second Canon and contravening the points contained in it. For this it is, which makes me say as I do in the beginning of this letter, that the Church of England has no longer a visible existence in this part of the world; because I look upon every person, whether Clergyman or layman, by impugning the King's Supremacy to be virtually excommunicated, separated or cut off from the communion of the Church, as it stands upon its legal basis tho' the sentence has not been actually pronounced against him."²

Judging from the reasoning presented by Mr. Reading we may fail to understand that he did not admit that his own obligations were at an end, if the Church had ceased to exist. "For", he says, "the Ecclesiastical censures could neither be pronounced here nor the penalties annexed operate to any immediate purpose against those who had incurred them, yet this assertion that the Church of England has no visible existence among us speaks for and proves itself."² In following up the arguments for his position, he adds: "Take away the distinguishing characteristic of any con-

¹ *Ibid.*, 484.

² Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, pp. 484-485.

stitution and that constitution instantly undergoes so material a change as not to be known by its former title of distinction.”¹ And what does he mean by this assumption? We find the answer to this question in his letter, wherein he says: “Take away the King’s supremacy and the Episcopal jurisdiction of our Church (for they are the specific differential marks of our Ecclesiastical policy), and the Church is no longer differenced by its former name as it can no longer with propriety lay claim to its distinguishing title of the Church of England.”²

With this acknowledgement of the status of the Church as it existed in 1776, he bravely determined “for the sake of keeping up the Church in its full visibility” to continue to “read the public service entire as usual notwithstanding Independence had been declared by the Congress.”³ But the temper of the people of Delaware would not permit the prayers for the King to be spoken in public; and, Mr. Reading was warned, time and again, to leave off that part of the Church services. At last, when threatenings became so prevalent as to endanger the safety of himself and family, he explained to his congregation, on July 28, 1776, as reported: “The obligations of the Clergy of the Church of England are under oath to assert the King’s Supremacy in their public ministrations and acquainted them that as I could not read the Liturgy agreeably to the prescribed form without offending against our Government and incurring the resentment of the people I should on that day declare the Church shut up for six weeks.”³ Thus we find him ready to wait until some settlement could be made between the mother country and the colonies. He evidently expected to return at the end of six weeks to continue his missionary work as he had done in the past.

Although he was a loyalist, we admire him. We are compelled to admit that he was a man worthy of his calling. His integrity and his honesty in making an effort to remain true to his principles are self-evident from the candid way in which he presented his arguments. Making allowance for the carefulness with which the letter

¹ *Ibid.*, 485.

² Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, p. 485.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 485-486.

was composed, owing to the severe censure of the Committee of Safety, we are convinced that his words are genuine. We have further proof of the strict integrity of the missionary in his letters to the Society, which show at the outset that he had the interests of the people at heart;¹ that he condemned any tendency to immorality;² and that he considered devotion to his calling "in our blessed Redeemer's cause ought to balance every pecuniary interest."³

Again, we find evidence of his sincerity and his determination to do what he firmly believed to be the right thing in his letter, wherein he remarks: "I declare in form as I had no design to resist the authority of the New Government on the one hand and as I was determined on the other not to incur the heavy guilt of perjury by a breach of the most solemn promises, I should decline attending on the public worship for a short time * * * and having exhorted the Members of the Church to hold fast to the profession of their faith without wavering and to depend upon the promises of a faithful God for their present comfort and future relief I finished this irksome business, and Appoquinimink Church from that day has continued shut up."⁴ Here, as in other communications relative to the affairs of his Church, he reveals the fact that he was undoubtedly trying to perform his duties to his congregations to the best of his ability.

We can judge from his statements that he had no intention to resist the patriots in their new form of government; but that he merely insisted in doing his duty, as far as his conscience would permit, with respect to the people under his pastoral care. In the performance of this duty, he says: "My sphere of action is now confined to the Catechetical, and what is strictly termed the parochial offices of my Mission. I shall relax in no diligence nor remit of any care in discharging these for the sake of keeping my people steadfast until some resolve of the New Legislature or the interposition of other events shall enable me to resume the public

¹ Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, p. 245.

² *Ibid.*, 244-245.

³ *Ibid.*, 386-387.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 486.



BARRATT'S CHAPEL
CRADLE OF METHODISM IN THE YEAR 1780

exercise of my Ministry in the Church. In the mean season I submit myself to the Honorable Society's disposal humbly imploring their advice and direction in my present arduous circumstances."¹ That he continued to persevere "with firmness and resolution in pursuing the same line of conduct" for two years is confirmed by a letter to that effect, dated September 30, 1778.² His death before the close of the war, unfortunately prevented him from being able to show what he could have done had he been placed under a free and independent government.

THE METHODISTS

As to the Methodists at the outbreak of the Revolution there is very little evidence to be found. From the standpoint of the patriots, they were looked upon with suspicion, because they were considered as a branch of the Church of England. Knowing that this was the general sentiment of the colonists, many of the Methodists adopted the policy of holding aloof from politics, and, thereby remaining neutral with respect to the war. However, Mr. Wesley created antagonism toward them by writing a letter stating principles that were strictly English in their tone. In referring to this attitude on the part of Mr. Wesley, Mr. Asbury writes in his *Journal*, March 19, 1776, as follows: "I also received an affectionate letter from Mr. Wesley, and am truly sorry that the venerable man ever dipped into politics in America. My desire is to live in peace and love with all men, and to do them no harm, but all the good I can. However, it discovers Mr. Wesley's conscientious attachment to the government under which he lived. Had he been a subject of America, no doubt but he would have been as zealous an advocate of the American cause. But some inconsiderate persons have taken occasion to censure the Methodists in America on account of Mr. Wesley's political sentiments."³

Into the details of the activities of the Methodists at the beginning of hostilities it is not within our province to enter, for the influence of this sect was practically *nil* until two years after the war commenced.

¹ Perry, *Historical Collections*, p. 487.

² *Ibid.*, 494.

³ Asbury's *Journal*, March 19, 1776.

THE PRESBYTERIANS

The Presbyterians in Delaware had always held the honor for the brave stand taken by them in their struggle for freedom of religion and the security of their civil rights. Hence, we find them at the beginning of hostilities between Great Britain and her American colonies ready for the conflict. From the time of their entrance into Delaware they had steadily increased in numbers, until they could boast, in 1775, of a greater number of churches than that of any other denomination. Added to this feature of their progress was their gradual gain in power, socially as well as politically, until the time came when they were not afraid to challenge the King himself if he attempted to deprive them of the fruits of their labors.

Long before the beginning of the Revolution they had gained the reputation of having revolutionary tendencies. They had fearlessly taken their stand in protecting the colonists against the Indians;¹ and in the French and Indian War they had learned the bitter experiences of battle. The British Government, not unmindful of the part that the Presbyterians had played in the wars with the French, began to fear the strength of these sturdy people; and immediately after peace was declared, made plans to curb their influence in the colonies. But the mother country soon found that her sons and daughters in the colonies had outgrown their infancy and were now in the full spirit of their adolescent period which refused to be controlled. They could not forget that for seventy years they had been compelled to meet the rebuffs of the royal governors, oftentimes imprisoned for preaching without a license, their churches closed, and their congregations forced to pay a tax for the support of a church whose ceremonies they utterly despised. And yet they seemed to thrive under adversity, for at the beginning of the Revolution they had multiplied in numbers until they had about one hundred and eighty six ministers, twenty Presbyteries, and two Synods.² From this data we may judge that there were about twice as many congregations as there were

¹ Ford, 584.

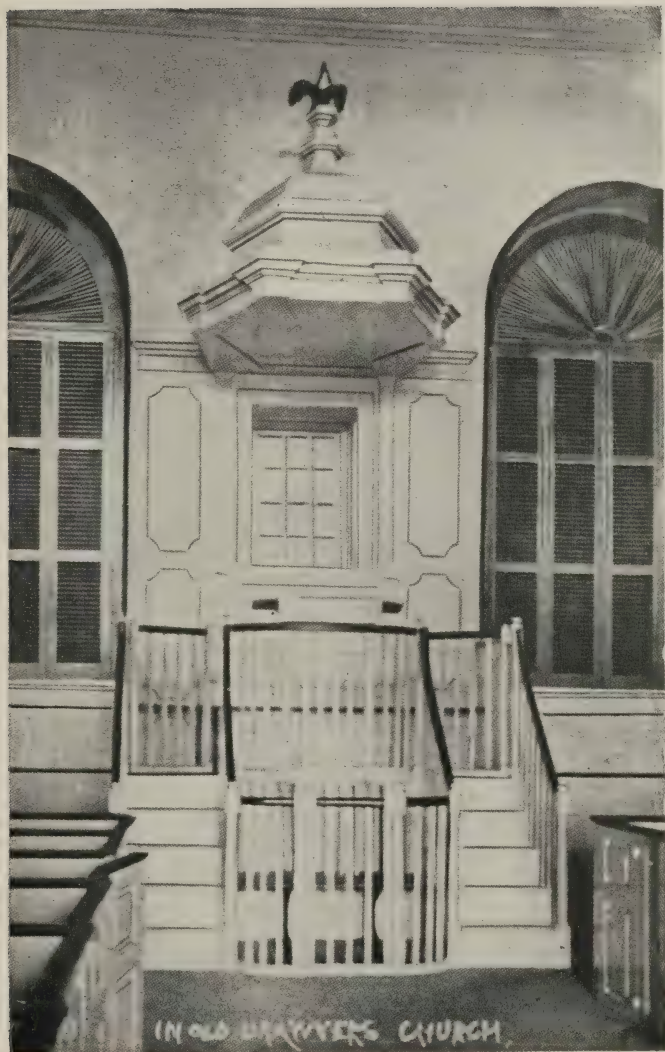
² Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 342.



OLD DRAWYER'S CHURCH

ST. GEORGE'S HUNDRED, DEL.

BUILT 1773



PULPIT OF OLD DRAWYER'S CHURCH

ministers. In Delaware alone there were twenty-nine churches.¹ "Heterogeneous as they were in origin, part New England Congregationalists, part Dutchmen of New Amsterdam, part Scotch-Irish, part Huguenots, part Highlanders, exiles of 'the 45'—the common element of a Presbyterian polity, and a Calvinistic theology fused them into one patriotic mass, glowing with an intense passion for civil and religious liberty. They openly took the attitude, and consented to the name and the responsibility, of *Rebels* against the British government."²

But we must not judge from this assertion that the Presbyterians believed in violence. On the other hand they detested the brutal radicalism of the mob. Even after the Battle of Lexington, we find them calm, deliberate, but fully determined to take a leading part in the contest for freedom. In an excellent pastoral letter written on May 20, 1775, they say: "The Synod cannot help thinking that this is a proper time for pressing all and every rank, seriously to consider the things that belong to their eternal peace. Hostilities, long feared, have now taken place; the sword has been drawn in one province, and the whole continent, with hardly any exception, seem determined to defend their rights by force of arms. If, at the same time, the British ministry shall continue to enforce their claims by violence, a lasting and bloody contest must be expected. Surely, then, it becomes those who have taken up arms, and profess a willingness to hazard their lives in the cause of liberty, to be prepared for death, which to many must be certain, and to every one is a possible or probable event."³

Although it is generally believed that the Presbyterian ministers were instrumental in bringing events to a crisis, they stated emphatically in their pastoral letter that they "had not been instrumental in inflaming the minds of the people, or urging them to acts of violence and disorder."⁴ Not only had they succeeded in keeping political sentiments from the pulpit but from the press as well; but, they informed their members in 1775, that "things are now come to such a state, that as we do not wish to

¹ See Tables.

² *A Short History of American Presbyterianism*, p. 84.

³ *Records of the Presbyterian Church, 1766-1775*, p. 466-467.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

conceal our opinions as men and citizens, so the relation we stand in to you seemed to make the present improvement of it to your spiritual benefit, an indispensable duty.”¹ True to their principles of religion they urged all who offered themselves as champions in their country’s cause to live near to God in order to be able “to meet the issue either in victory or death.”²

Their advice to the societies under their charge were given in explicit instructions as to their general conduct in public. They were advised to have respect for the king, “and to the revolution principles by which his august family was seated on the British throne *** let it ever appear, that you only desire the preservation and security of those rights which belong to you as freemen and Britons, and that reconciliation upon these terms is your most ardent desire.”³ In the second place, they urged their societies to “be careful to maintain the union which at present subsists through all the colonies; nothing can be more manifest than that the success of every measure depends on its being inviolably preserved, and therefore, we hope that you will leave nothing undone which can promote that end.”³ The various denominations were further advised to be candid and respectful toward each other, as they were fighting for a common cause, for civil and religious liberty.³

In the third place they urged upon their members to be careful about their private conduct, and were pleased to call their attention to the action of the Continental Congress, which was using every effort to discourage gaming, and public diversions of all kinds; and it would be to the interest of the country if they would follow this advice. They were also advised to pay their debts, and to live in such a manner that they could “serve one another,” and by so doing would, to a large extent, keep down many evils which always followed a civil war. Besides these wise instructions, they were not to forget that in a civil war there was a greater probability to seek revenge than in a foreign war, and they must “guard against this abuse.” They say: “That man will fight more bravely, who

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, 467-469.

³ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 468.

never fights till it is necessary, and who ceases to fight as soon as the necessity is over.”¹

Of the union mentioned in the pastoral letter, we may say in passing that it was formed in 1766, for the purpose of preserving religious liberty in the Colonies, for the spread of the Gospel in America, and for the promotion of Christian fellowship among the various denominations.² It is needless to say that the Presbyterians took the initiative in this movement, in the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. An overture was prepared and sent to the Association in Connecticut to urge them to unite their efforts in a common cause to preserve their religious liberty, and for this purpose to provide a means for a convention where they could meet and exchange views upon the subject. The General Association of Connecticut promptly agreed to be present and the meeting took place shortly afterwards. Thus the General Convention of the dissenters became an important factor in the various influences which brought about the Revolution.³

Coming to the part played by Delaware in the war for independence, we find that, as far as the Presbyterian Church is concerned, there are few records to show the events of that period. The reason for this unfortunate affair may be explained in part by the following extract taken from the first page of the fourth volume of the Presbyterian Records of the New Castle Presbytery: “The troublesome times, war and distress, which took place both in church and state afterwards greatly deranged all affairs civil and religious, for many years, and the enemy marching through the Presbytery’s bounds, occasioned the loss of their old records, and many of the running minutes of that distressing day are dropped aside, or turn fugitive with the enemy, and disaffected; so that it is doubtful whether any of them that are lost or filed will ever be recovered.”⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 468-469.

² *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 468-469.

³ *Minutes of the General Convention of Delegates Appointed by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia and the General Association of Connecticut*, 1766-1775, pp. 5-10.

⁴ Spottswood, p. 28.

But other records are not lacking to show that patriotism was a prominent feature of the Presbyterian denomination. The Rev. Dr. Spottswood claims that there could not be found anywhere more loyal subjects than those of the Presbyterian denomination, for during the pre-revolutionary days they were loyal to the king. Nor could there be found any who were more zealous in the cause of liberty, or who gave their lives and their property more freely than these people. But, although they acknowledged the authority of the king, and their duty as subjects to the law, and had exemplified their principles on many occasions before the Revolution, the time came when they were called upon to show their loyalty to the King of Kings, when they were fully convinced that an effort was being made to force them into a form of religion which was clearly contrary to what their conscience dictated.¹

A study of the developments of events in Delaware as in the other colonies will show that religious affairs were closely intertwined with the civil matters of the time, especially after the act of uniformity began to be enforced. The troublesome times, both civil and religious, are mentioned time and again in their minutes, from 1770 up to the outbreak of the Revolution.² Within the Presbyteries themselves, a spirit of change, a desire to be moved from one Presbytery to another, shows a tendency to independence of action as well as a growth of the Presbyteries. But the wise men of the Synod insist that unity means strength, and, therefore, order that a reconsideration of their plan of union of 1766 be made a subject of thought in their Presbyteries.³ In 1772, the Synod takes into consideration the "low state of vital and practical religion, the great prevalence of vice and infidelity * * * of this land." Consequently, a day for repentance was named as a "day of public fasting and prayer." A pastoral letter in the same year, urging the members of the Presbyterian denomination to be more active in the distribution of religious literature, and to use their contributions for the advantage of the plan of union as laid down in 1766, was circulated.⁴

¹ Spottswood, p. 29.

² *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 402, 414, 426.

³ *Ibid.*, 402.

⁴ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 430.

The fear of the encroachments of the Established church was a constant source of dread to the Presbyterians a few years before the Revolution; hence the Synod recommended to the Presbyteries to be more cautious about accepting foreign ministers. They must maintain "orthodoxy in doctrine, and purity in practice;" and that they must be very careful about inspecting them as to letters of testimonial, and examinations. But, in spite of their caution to maintain their religious principles, the day came when "the dark and threatening calamities seemed ready to envelop them. June 3, 1776, was set aside for a day of fasting and prayer, and to call upon God to avert the calamities which they "had good reason to fear."¹ The Rev. Matthew Wilson, of Lewes, Delaware, plays an interesting role in his proposal of a method to "secure the lasting unity and credit of the Presbyterian body."² The contents of his overture are not given, but it must have given many details about the church, as it was recommended as a good study for the constitution of the Presbyterian Church.³

From the fact that the Rev. Matthew Wilson appears to have had much influence in the Synod, judging from the number of times that he appears on important committees, we may take him as an illustration of what the Presbyterians accomplished in the cause for independence. The Rev. Mr. Wilson was a man of responsibility and great influence in civil affairs, as well as a faithful worker in religious activities. He claimed that it was not only the right but the duty of every Christian to take an interest in public life; and he exemplified this doctrine in his own particular work. For instance, he made strong opposition to the Stamp Act, and used his influence to encourage manufactures in order to lend his aid in carrying out the non-importation agreement. An interesting story is told of him in this connection. It appears from a story related by the Delaware Register of 1838, that the members of his family were forbidden to purchase any tea from England. As a reconciliation for this deprivation, he published an article in the newspaper, which was afterwards reprinted in the *American Magazine*, for 1775, stating the debilitating effects of

¹ *Ibid*, 460.

² *Ibid*, 460.

³ *Ibid*, p. 460.

tea, and naming "seventeen herbs or vegetables which were good substitutes."¹

We may judge from this incident that a man of his temperament would be an important factor in influencing the public mind in Delaware, and in the colonies as a whole. Hence, we are not surprised that he was made a member of a committee to send aid to the people of Boston, when the Boston Port Bill went into effect.² Again, in July 1778, he takes a leading part against the Tories in Sussex County, where there was a strong influence in favor of the Crown. Numerous Whigs were daily being won over to the Tories by means of the maneuvers of the enemy. To counteract this Tory influence, Mr. Wilson suggests as a remedy that some of the Tory prisoners, who were formerly good Whigs, turn state evidence, in order to find out the secrets and methods of the Tories who were using these men as "Cat's Paws." With this purpose in view he writes to William Bradford, of the Board of War, in Philadelphia, to release a certain James Couper, provided he would "make a good state evidence."³ The danger of such a rôle as Mr. Wilson was undertaking, is evident from a letter to Mr. Bradford, written by Henry Neill, Lieutenant of the County of Sussex, advising him to be very cautious about publicity of the minister's letters, as it would create many enemies, who had it in "their power to injure him."⁴

The significance of this effort on the part of Mr. Wilson is extremely important, because he was working in a regular hornet's nest of Tories. Anonymous letters, and papers of all kinds were published and circulated by both factions. For instance, a pamphlet was issued by the Whigs, entitled: "The Bibliographical History of Dionysius - - Tyrant of Delaware, addressed to the People of the United States of America. By Timoleen," was circulated after the war. This piece of propaganda, similar to others circulated throughout the colonies, was issued by Dr. James Tilton, of

¹ Neill, Rev. Edward, *Matthew Wilson, D.D., of Lewes*, (in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. VIII, p. 50)

² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, VIII, p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

Delaware. Among some of the interesting features of his circular, he says: "From the memorable era of 1763 the progress of British jealousy and the consequent attempts at arbitrary power, and the dominant power over the colonies, are notorious."¹ Mr. Neill calls our attention to the fact that the majority of the people in Sussex County favored the British Government;² but he does not explain that the reasons for this were due to several causes. In the first place many of the Tories who were creating so much disturbance in Sussex County were men who had been brought into Delaware by the British government; in the second place the government was in the hands of the Tory adherents;³ in the third place some of the most enthusiastic patriots had been enrolled in the Delaware regiment, which had marched to the seat of war; and, finally, many of the Whigs had been seduced "by the arts and assiduity of the proprietary adherents."⁴ The Presbyterians, as a matter of course, belonged to the Whig party, but they could do little against such odds. The Tories employed runners in Kent and Sussex Counties with propaganda against independence. This was a period when the minds of the people were poisoned; and vast numbers for the first time were opposed to the actions of Congress.⁵ About this time the election of the government officials was controlled by a strong force of the Tories, who agitated the country against independence, and who were in opposition to the non-importation acts. A case in point is illustrated by a counter plot of a Mr. Robinson against the activities of Mr. Wilson. He purchased a large quantity of tea and gave to all who wished to use it.⁶ The committee of observation, of which Mr. Wilson was a member, had an account of his conduct published in the paper. Then the Light Infantry took charge of Mr. Robinson, and ordered that he be denied the privilege of a seat in the assembly. However, "Dionysius," who was no other than George Read, considered this a breach of privilege on the part of the Revolutionists, and

¹ *The Biographical History of Dionysius*, p. 10.

² *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, VIII, p. 51.

³ *The Bibliographical History of Dionysius*, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁵ Letter of Mr. Wilson, July 29, 1778 (in *Pa. Mag. of Hist.* Vol. VIII, p. 52.)

⁶ *The Biographical History of Dionysius*, p. 16.

threats were even made to imprison "the Light Infantry for offence," says the writer, Dr. James Tilton.

This action on the part of the acting governor, George Read, was an encouragement to the Tories to become more bold in their stand for the retention of the British form of government, in "opposition to the tyranny of Congress and committees."¹ As the Presbyterians were using strenuous efforts to strengthen the power of Congress at this time, "all people" were warned by the Tories against members of this denomination "who had long ago made havoc in New England, and were now, no doubt, in concert with the Yankees for the purpose of some secret mischief."² But the mischief was not always secret, for the Presbyterians undoubtedly had a part in seizing a Tory, by the name of Clark, who had been bold in advocating the Tory doctrine, and having him placed in the pillory, "where he was pelted with eggs, and disgraced as a traitor."³ However, Clark, being an officer of the law, gathered, within a very few days after his release, a number of followers for the purpose of revenge; but they were expected by the light infantry, who had a suitable reception ready for them when they should appear. A couple of clergymen warned Clark of the danger that was awaiting him, and persuaded him to return home.⁴

But the insurrection in Kent was very mild as compared with the serious conditions in Sussex County. It appears that the leaders there were in league with officers of the British ships which were in the Delaware Bay, and that through their influence many had become disaffected. Consequently, thousands flocked to Lewes from all over the country, to take part in an insurrection against the Continental Congress. Communication with the general government resulted in two battalions being sent, under the leadership of Colonel Miles, and the Delaware Regiment under Colonel Hazlet, to keep things in order.⁵

¹ *The Biographical History of Dionysius*, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴ An attempt has been made to find out who these clergymen were; but there seems to be no available records concerning them. *Op. cit.*

⁵ *The Biographical History of Dionysius*, p. 21.

In New Castle County also, we find some enthusiastic advocates for the cause of independence. The Church of the Lower Brandywine is a striking example of the condition of the churches in this county during the war. This was a period when the fields of labor of the pastors were overrun by the enemy, "lying on the direct line of their march."¹ The Rev. Mr. Smith, the famous revolutionist, had the experience of having both armies camped within the field of his pastorate, while a few miles north of his church was fought the famous battle of Chadd's Ford.¹ South of this church was that of Drawyer's Creek, with another plucky Presbyterian as its pastor. The following story of him, is given on the authority of Dr. Thomas Read himself, and is worthy of repetition:

"On the 25th of August, 1777, the British army disembarked at Elk Ferry. General Washington was encamped near Stanton, about six miles below Wilmington, and nearly equidistant from the point of disembarkment of the British and Chadd's Ford, where the battle was subsequently fought, on the 10th of September, about twenty miles from the camp. A smart skirmish at Couch's Bridge, between the outposts, and within four miles of Washington's encampment, gave the first intimation of the dangerous proximity of the enemy. To give battle in such a position, with our raw troops against disciplined veterans, would prove ruinous—to retreat by the high road, with a well appointed and regular army hanging on the rear, might prove more disastrous than a pitched battle. Every preparation was instantly made for the departure; but how to retreat was the great question, and it demanded a speedy solution. The geographical knowledge of the immediate neighborhood did not extend much beyond the limits of the continuous farms, and the roads to the nearest markets; and no information that could be relied upon could be obtained. Between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, a council of war was called; and, while the greatest anxiety prevailed, Col. Duff, a gallant officer, then acting as one of Washington's staff, entered the room and exclaimed instantly, 'I know the man that can

¹ Fiske, John, *The American Revolution*, Vol. I, 312-314.

extricate us.' 'Mount and bring him without a moment's delay,' was the order; and immediately the Colonel was on his way to execute it. After traveling about five miles, he arrived at the house of Mr. Read, at twelve o'clock at night, roused him from his bed, and in ten minutes his horse was at the door, and he in the saddle, and both under whip and spur for the camp. In half an hour, they had gone over the whole distance, notwithstanding an exceedingly bad road,—and Mr. Read was introduced to Washington in his tent. He mapped out for the General, within a small space, the whole adjacent country, with all the cross and by-roads accurately marked; and by this means the general effected a safe retreat to the Brandywine."¹

We cannot fail to be assured from these accounts of the attitude of the Presbyterians in the three counties of Delaware, that they played an important part in the struggle for independence. As a body, we learn from their records that "they prayed to the God of the armies, they observed special days of fasting; they sent pastoral letters to the churches, exhorting them to maintain the union of the colonies, to cultivate and practice in their engagements with the enemy the virtues of mercy and humanity, and above all the love and fear of God."² As individuals, besides the men who have been mentioned, there were many who deserve the highest praise. Many Presbyterian ministers served in the army, among whom was Mr. Montgomery, of New Castle, who enlisted in the capacity of chaplain, on October 29, 1777.³ The Rev. Elihu Spencer, of St. George,⁴ and the Rev. John Miller, of Dover,⁵ were zealous leaders in the cause for independence. Mr. McCreary, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, at the Head of Christiana, and all his people "were firm friends and advocates for independence."⁶ Many of the ministers joined the army and served during the full period of the war; others gave up their lives on the battle field.

¹ Sprague's Annals, Vol. III, p. 302.

² Spottswood, p. 31.

³ *Ibid*, p. 33.

⁴ Sprague, III, p. 167.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 171. (Taken from the MS. of his son, Rev. Samuel Miller.)

⁶ Vallandigham, J. L., *The History of the Presbytery of New Castle, 1717-1888*, p. 14.

Thus far we have had evidence from the records of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and from the ministers and members of the Presbyterian Churches in Delaware, to show that the Presbyterians were unconditionally committed to the desperate struggle for independence. This unanimity of the Presbyterians, was recognized by one of the most ardent loyalists, the Rev. Mr. Inglis, of New York, but formerly of Delaware. He says: "Although civil liberty was the ostensible object, the bait that was flung out to catch the populace at large and engage them in the rebellion, yet it is now past all doubt that an abolition of the Church of England was one of the principal springs of the dissenting leaders' conduct; and hence the unanimity of the dissenters in this business. I have it from good authority that the Presbyterian ministers, at a synod where most of them in the middle colonies were collected, passed a resolve to support the Continental Congress in all their measures. This, and this only, can account for the uniformity of their conduct, for I do not know one of them, nor have I been able, after strict inquiry, to hear of any, who did not, by preaching and every effort in their power, promote all the measures of Congress, however extravagant."¹

THE QUAKERS

In considering the attitude of the Quakers toward the Revolution, we must bear in mind their principles and their conduct with respect to warfare since their troublesome times with the frontiersmen in 1756, when they voluntarily withdrew from the Pennsylvania Assembly, because they were unwilling to carry on war with the Indians.² Likewise, in 1775, they advocated the same principles, when they "put forth an address for peace when the very air was hot with war."³ We must also take into consideration that in all their dealings they used methods of persuasion, of peace, and of conciliation rather than use of force. Thus,

¹ *State of the Anglo-American Church in 1776*, by the Rev. Chas. Inglis. (In *Documentary History of New York*, III, pp. 1050-51.)

The statements of Dr. Inglis are corroborated by the Records of the Presbyterian Synod of New York and Philadelphia, pp. 466-468.

² Jones, p. 557; Blaithewaite, pp. 605, 623.

³ Frothingham, p. 465.

in the war for independence, true to their principles, as they had always been on other occasions, their minutes of 1775 show that, although they had a "just sense of the value" of their "religious and civil liberties," and were very desirous of preserving them, they were willing to use only such measures as were consistent with their principles. In the same document, they state: "Though we believe it our duty to submit to the powers which in the course of Divine Providence are set over us, where there has been or is any oppression or cause of suffering, we are engaged with Christian meekness and firmness to petition and remonstrate against it, and to endeavor by just reasoning and arguments to assert our rights and privileges in order to obtain relief."¹

As an illustration of their methods of remonstrance, we may recall the Stamp Act, and their disapproval of the same, when in 1765, the Quakers of Philadelphia united in an appeal to their fellow merchants in London to use their influence to secure its repeal. In all probability this appeal had more effect than the frantic attacks of New England, according to the letter of Dr. Fothergill, who writes: "Nothing has created so great difficulties to your friends, or furnished your opponents with so many arguments against you as the tumultuous behavior of too many on your side of all ranks. The Parliament saw its authority not only rejected, but despised, opposed and insulted. What difficulties has not this madness occasioned to all who endeavor to serve you?"² During the next two years Pemberton and Fothergill, again and again, urged the "objections to the foolish course of the English ministry."³ Furthermore, the Society of Friends insisted on obedience to laws which did not touch conscience, and advised restraint and moderation in protest.⁴

But by 1776, the spirit of the times had had its effects upon the younger generations of Quakers; and the conservative Quakers were compelled to make a strenuous effort to keep in line with their views. Indeed, many broke away and joined the ranks for

¹ Sharpless, Part II, p. 1.

² Sharpless, Part II, p. 94.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

independence.¹ One of the most famous Quakers who had broken away from the traditional beliefs of his fathers, was John Dickinson, the famous writer of the "Farmer's Letters,"—a man who had spent most of his life in Delaware.² In 1763, he had sternly rebuked Parliament for attempting to impose taxes upon the colonists; and he was one of the chief leaders in the Colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution.

When war was declared, the Quakers not only opposed war, but they discountenanced all things which were devised for the purpose of carrying it on successfully. Consequently, they were subject to many trials and tribulations. For instance, they objected to the issue of paper money, or notes of credit, which was necessary from a financial standpoint; and many felt constrained against using paper money for such purposes.² A case in point occurred in Duck Creek, Delaware, when John Cowgill refused paper money. He was arrested and made to appear before a body of inspectors to give an account of his conduct. After declining to give assurance that he would not be found guilty of such an offence again, his name was published in the newspapers; whereupon he was accused of being an enemy to his country, and all patriots were warned not to have any dealings with him. Therefore, "some millers refused to grind his corn, whilst the schoolmaster who taught his children, sent them home."³ It is said that when he was enroute with his family to a meeting, not long afterwards, he was accosted by a group of armed men who informed him that he must appear before the Committee. Then they fastened a paper to his back, with the inscription: "On the circulation of the Continental currency depends the fate of America."³ Then, with this insignia of the patriotic cause still attached to his back, he was conveyed in "a cart to a neighboring town, and paraded through the streets, amidst an excited multitude."³

At the beginning of the Revolution, the influence of the Friends was comparatively small in contrast to the period when

¹ *Ibid.*

² Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends*, Vol. II, p. 307.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

William Penn lived among them; but few of them seemed to realize their weakness. They managed to keep in communication with each other; and the few that remained true to the doctrines of William Penn, were, practically of the same mind in all of the colonies. Their attitude toward war in general, and toward the Revolution in particular, may be surmised from the following minute in their Yearly-Meeting in 1775:

*"We did not approve of the proceedings of the British Ministry, which irritated the Americans; we thought them ill-advised, and in view of their certain effects, wicked; we would have joined with our fellow-citizens in peaceful legal resistance to them, and have suffered, as we have proven we are able to suffer, for the principles of liberty and justice. But we do not believe in revolutions, and we do not believe in war; we will not be a party in overturning the beneficent charter of William Penn, nor will we aid in throwing off our ultimate allegiance to the King of Great Britain. We, who largely made this province, what it is, and who have shown in the past our capacity for the peaceful maintainance of rights, are utterly opposed to the measures now taken, and disavow all responsibility for them. We cannot take part in the war, on one side or the other; we cannot recognize the revolutionary government, set up by illegal means, by holding office under it or by affirming allegiance to it; nor will we assist Great Britain in the unrighteous means taken to conquer the rebellious provinces; we are out of the whole business, and will give comfort to neither party."*¹

From an analysis of the above statement of their views, we may judge that an opposition to war was their chief contention in 1775. They were not only opposed to war in any form; but to any proceeding that was irritating in its effect. If the Colonists had used peaceful means in their struggle for the "principles of liberty and justice," they would have joined them; but in the critical position in which they were now placed, they could not conscientiously lend their aid to either party. Hence, the doctrine of the Friends was to remain neutral throughout the Revolutionary War.

¹ Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, 1775.

Although the Quakers advocated the doctrine of neutrality as a body, there were some individuals who were strongly in sympathy with the patriots. One of the most prominent Friends, who lived at the time of the outbreak of the war with England, was Elizabeth Shipley, a minister of the Society of Friends, in Wilmington. During her last illness, in the fall of 1777, a short time after the Battle of Brandywine, and the capture of Philadelphia by the British, she became strangely solicitous about the public affairs of the nation. The Friends, some of whom had known her for a period of thirty-five years, gathered around her bedside to hear her last words. She called their attention to the existing state of the country, which was then in such a stage of despondency as to make even the most patriotic feel dismayed; she alluded to the sufferings of the people, the long civil strife that was still before them, and the difficulties of getting the necessary things of life; and then said: "But I have seen in the light of the Lord, that the invader of our land shall be driven back; for the arm that is mighty to save and able to deliver from the hand of the oppressor, is stretched forth for the deliverance of this nation, which, I am firm in the faith, will secure its independence."¹

The stupenduous impression left on the minds of the Friends at this juncture, is all the more remarkable from the fact that even the officers of the army of the American Colonies were filled with despondency. "The solemnity of the occasion, the character of the speaker, and the circumstances under which it was delivered, greatly increased the interest it was otherwise well calculated to excite. It was a voice from the borders of the grave, uttered by one who had long been considered an extraordinary person, and now just entering the portal of an eternal state."²

But the influence of this stirring event was not confined to Delaware, as the facts of the case were sent to the editor of a Whig paper in Trenton, New Jersey, who published them on March 11, 1778, in the following words:

¹ Ferris, *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware*, p. 258.

² Ferris, *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware*, p. 259.

"The public has been already informed of the death of Elizabeth Shipley, of Wilmington, but a circumstance relating thereto, is perhaps a secret except to a few. On her death-bed, as well as during her better state of health, she was much affected with the calamity that this country now labours under from the cruel oppression of the King and Parliament of England; but a ray of that light by which the soul can look into future events, springing up in her, she was comforted; and with godly confidence declared THAT THIS COUNTRY SHOULD NOT BE CONQUERED BY GREAT BRITAIN. This she uttered with such solemnity that it commanded the particular notice of all who heard her, and is now made public for the encouragement of every well-wisher to the freedom and liberties of America. Every one who has had an opportunity of knowing this great and good woman, whether they be Whig or Tory, will be inclined to give credit to her prophecy; and for the sake of all such who knew her not, they are now informed that she was a woman eminently endowed with knowledge both natural and divine."¹

Fearing the result if this article was left uncriticized by the Tories, *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, under the patronage of Lord Howe, had it reprinted, March 21, 1778, with the following introduction:

"The publisher of last week's Trenton paper, introduces a most comfortable prophecy of a good lady, who lately died at Wilmington. It is no new device among these deceivers of the people (the whigs) to call in the aid of popular superstition, in support of their ambitious projects. And though we think it rather a profanation to amuse the people with such idle tales * * * we hope our readers will excuse our asserting this of good madame Shipley, not doubting but it will have all the weight which it merits, with those for whose encouragement it was published in New Jersey."²

There is no reason to doubt the statement in regard to Elizabeth Shipley, as the Tory editor would have us believe. A

¹ *Ibid*, p. 259.

² *Ibid*.

survey of the story of her life will reveal the fact that she had prophetic visions many times during her life, according to her historians, and that they had always come true. The retort from the Tories was a natural consequence, however, as she had traveled throughout the Middle States, and was "considered one of the greatest ministers of her own profession on the continent of America."¹

But this event did not lessen the sufferings of Friends, as far as we have been able to obtain information concerning them. It appears from their records that instead of taking part in the war, they spent thousands of dollars in aiding sufferers of their own denomination, who had been subject to hardships for remaining steadfast to their doctrines. Officers of the army would take their grain, their blankets, horses, bridles, wearing apparel, cows, sheep, and other things, which the Friends possessed. Many of them, in order to remain true to their principles, would not accept pay, when offered, for such things that were taken for the purpose of aiding in carrying on the war. Among the latter were most of the members of the Duck Creek Monthly Meeting, who averaged a loss of about five thousand four hundred sixty-six dollars during the years 1779-1785.²

¹ Ferris, *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware*, p. 258.

² Michener, *A Retrospect of Quakerism*, pp. 396-405.

CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCHES TOWARD EDUCATION

The genesis of the educational work in Delaware may be found in the religious history of the country. The Swedes,¹ the Dutch,² and the English³ had different forms of schools; but in all of their plans we find religious instruction the chief requirement of the curriculum. In every case, the religious body in Europe which controlled education in the colonies saw that their American brethren had a supply of religious literature sent to them for their enlightenment. Thus, we may come to the conclusion that the general attitude of the early settlers of Delaware toward education was to give the colonists perfect freedom in religion and educational affairs.⁴

Although little is known as to the real conditions for education during the Dutch and Swedish régime, it is generally understood by most writers of the period that the educational activities of the Dutch and the Swedes were much superior to that of the English.⁵ In their instructions to the settlers both the Swedes and the Dutch made provisions for a church building and a school house; and, also a supply of ministers and schoolmasters.⁶ The schoolmaster had to sign a pledge to submit to the authority and discipline of the church. As to the Swedes, from the time when they first landed in America, up to the period of the Revolution, we find the church taking a leading part in the instruction of the young. Likewise, Holland had control over education in the Dutch colonies in America; and, although the Dutch régime lasted only about nine years in Delaware, there are traces of their educational

¹ Weeks, *History of Public School Education in Delaware*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³ Powell, *History of Education in Delaware*, p. 38.

⁴ Weeks, p. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶ Powell, p. 23.

system which may be found in the principles of William Penn, and of the Puritan colonists who found their way into this particular region.¹

From 1722 to 1749, the Swedes were so busy in clearing new lands, and in providing for their economical needs that they neglected the education of the children. Until the coming of Acrelius, in 1750, the children went to the English schools. Through his influence, Nils Forsberg, a student from the University of Lund, made it his duty to go from house to house in order to instruct the children in their own language, and in the catechism.² From this time forward, there was a struggle on the part of the Swedes to maintain separate schools; but about the time of the Revolution their schools were merged into that of the English.³ This was a natural thing to do, as the children at this period spoke the English language more frequently than that of the Swedes. The last effort on the part of the Swedes to teach the children in the Swedish language was made by the pastors, who went from house to house a few years before the Revolution.³

There seems to be a difference of opinion about the quality of education in the Swedish settlements. According to Bancroft, the children were well instructed, in spite of the fact that they lacked teachers and Swedish books. In contrast to this view, Ferris claims that education was sadly neglected; but for more than forty years before the Revolution the Swedes had made very little progress in education. We should judge that there was a decline in education as the Church was gradually amalgamated by the English church, and the Swedish language was no longer spoken.⁴

¹ Powell, *History of Education in Delaware*, p. 21.

² Weeks, *History of Public School Education in Delaware*, p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴ Powell, pp. 20-21.

⁵

BAPTIST EDUCATION

The Baptists in Delaware during the Revolutionary period seem to have been at a standstill compared with what they had accomplished during the early part of the eighteenth century. The Welsh Tract Church was the only Baptist church in the colony at this time; but it had branches in Kent County, and in Wilmington and New Castle, in New Castle County. The Welsh Tract Church must have had some form of educational work, for the men who preached in the branches were fairly well educated in religious works. However, we are inclined to believe that there was no regular school conducted by the Baptists, from the fact that Abel Morgan, a noted Baptist minister in the years before the Revolution, attended school at the academy in Pencader Hundred, under the supervision of Rev. Thomas Evans, a Presbyterian minister.¹

An attempt was made by the Baptists to establish a school in Pencader Hundred, as early as 1734, for the purpose of educating Baptist youths for the ministry; by some arrangement made by Mr. Rees Jones, who stipulated in his will that his plantation in Welsh Tract be used for that purpose.² But his relatives insisted on other arrangements; and there is no evidence available to show that anything further was done about the matter.

An examination of the lives of the early ministers leads us to believe that most of them were well educated. After they came to America, the ministers that came over imparted their knowledge to all youths of ability that were qualified to become preachers. Few of the Baptists, however, had college degrees before they were ordained as ministers. Many were educated for the ministry in Welsh Tract, if we may judge from the number who went from there to South Carolina, to Virginia, to Pennsylvania, and in the various parts of Delaware. This may also be assumed to be true from the prominent places given to them in Philadelphia, and the interest taken by them in providing for a college for Baptist ministers in Rhode Island. Although no records are available to show that the members of the Welsh Tract Baptist Church were

¹ Sprague's *Annals*, Vol. VI, p. 33.

² *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, IX, p. 55.

educated men, the fact that they were represented in nearly every annual meeting from 1706 to 1776 leads us to believe that they must have had a large influence in the Baptist Association. We also learn from the records of the Philadelphia Baptist Association that the men were faithful and consistent in doing their part for the establishment and continuence of the Baptist College in Rhode Island. This shows their interest in education and their earnestness in providing means for the spread of their religion.¹

Up to this time the Baptist youths had to attend colleges of other denominations; and although many of these colleges offered equality of privileges, as far as their charters were concerned, the Baptist students suffered restrictions from the students themselves. In establishing a college, they followed the practice of other colleges of the day, in permitting students from other denominations to attend; but went a step further by forbidding all religious tests as a requirement for a position in the controlling bodies, except in the case of the Presidency.² Thus, the Delaware Baptists had an important part in the spread of liberalism throughout the colonies, one of the great factors which culminated in the Revolutionary War.

As to the Baptist schools in Delaware, we can say but little. In a colony where there was but little education at the outset, the other denominations had crowded out the Baptists; and we find that even in the neighborhood of the only Baptist church in the colony there was a flourishing school under the control of a Presbyterian, the Rev. Thomas Evans. The famous Abel Morgan attended this school, as we mentioned before, but it did not prevent him from becoming a leading Baptist.³

EPISCOPALIAN EDUCATION

The educational activities of the Established Church is so closely related to the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts that a brief survey of this venerable

¹ Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, Vol. II, p. 248.

² Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, II, p. 249.

³ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, II, p. 344.

Society may be necessary to understand what was really accomplished under extreme difficulties. The chief purposes of the Society were: (1) To provide for the maintenance of orthodox ministers of the gospel for the instruction of the British subjects in the colonies in religious knowledge; (2) to make provision for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians, and in the desolate regions; and (3) to receive, manage, and dispose of the charity donated by the people.¹ Naturally, it came within the province of this Society to aid in the work of education. Besides supplying missionaries to the Colonists and the Indians "it appointed catechists and schoolmasters for the slaves, with other ignorant persons, and for sending over libraries for the improvement of the clergy, as well as practical treatises for the edification of the laity."² Thus, we do not hesitate to say that this famous Society was the first organization for universal education in Delaware.³

It was in conformity to the rules of this Society that the Rev. George Ross was sent to New Castle, Delaware, as a missionary. From the very beginning of his career, during the early part of the eighteenth century, he was interested in education; and he made many earnest efforts to find some means to educate the people. But the difficulties were great, and the facilities for education were meager. The only available method during the first decades of the century was to catechise the children on Sundays, before the sermon, or at other convenient times.⁴ The first effort to secure a schoolmaster in Delaware was in 1711, when the vestrymen of the Church in New Castle petitioned the Society for one; but the records do not indicate that one was sent.⁵

The conditions in Delaware at this time must have been very trying to the missionaries, who were men of superior qualifications and education, as is illustrated by a letter from the Rev. George Ross in 1727. In his letter to the Society, he says: "There are some private schools within my reputed district which are put very

¹ *Classified Digest of the Records of the S. P. G.*, p. 3.

² Powell, p. 35.

³ Weeks, p. 16.

⁴ Perry, *Historical Collections*, Vol. V., p. 30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

often into the hands of those who are brought into the country and sold as servants. Some school-masters are hired by the year, by a knot of families who, in their turns, entertain him monthly, and the poor man lives in their houses liked one that begged an alm, more like a person in credit than authority. When a ship arrives in the river it is a common expression with those who stand in need of an instructor for their children, *Let us go and buy a School Master*. The truth is the office and character of such a person is generally very mean and contemptible here, and it can not be other ways, 'til the public take the Education of Children into their natural consideration.”¹

About the same time that the Rev. George Ross was struggling for some means of educating the young people in New Castle County, the Rev. Thomas Crawford was making similar efforts in Kent County. He too was a zealous worker for the spread of the gospel and for the education of the young people. “The People at his first coming among them were very ignorant; insomuch that he informs, not one Man in the Country understands how the Common-Prayer Book was to be read; and he was forced to instruct them privately at home, in the Method of reading the Liturgy; for the more general Instruction of the People, he used to preach one Sunday at the upper end of the County, another at Dover Church, and a third at the Lower end of the County. He used to catechise the children all summer long, before sermon, but not in the Winter.”²

Likewise, in Sussex, where a great part of the inhabitants were seamen, an attempt was made to educate the people. Through the influence of the Rev. Thomas Crawford, books on religion, Bibles and prayer books were sent to them from England. Fifteen pounds sterling was allowed the people of Lewes by the Society, as a fund for purchasing books.³ But the people in all of these counties were not as enthusiastic about their education as the ministers were; and before the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth

¹ *Ibid*, p. 47

² Powell, p. 37.

³ Powell, p. 38.

century the Church was becoming unpopular, and was on the verge of falling to pieces.¹

An investigation as to the conditions in Delaware was made by Governor William Keith, who was instrumental in bringing about a revival. Through his influence, Mr. Becket was sent to Lewes in 1721, under the supervision of the Society; and in a short time a church was built. In connection with the church, as a matter of course, instruction of the young people was again taken up. Aid was given by the Society until 1770, when the Rev. Israel Acrelius, the Swedish clergyman, received a large number of books to be distributed throughout the colony to the people who needed them. This was the last service, as far as the records reveal, of the Society in Delaware.²

We may see from this general survey of the conditions in Delaware during these years, that the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was primarily to upbuild the strength of the Established Church; and the chief purpose to inculcate in the minds of the children and ignorant persons certain principles toward this end. Therefore, great care was taken to train the children, and others, so that they could be able to enter into the fellowship of the Church, with more "decency and satisfaction."³ The children of dissenters were also given the privilege of learning, and in this way many of them were enrolled as members of the Church.⁴

PRESBYTERIAN EDUCATION

To the Presbyterians belongs the honor of having done more for the education of the people of Delaware than any other denomination. From the beginning of their existence as an organized body in the Colonies, they laid great stress on the value of an education for both the laity and the clergy.⁵ At the outset it was insisted that no one could enter the Presbyterian ministry who was not a col-

¹ *Ibid*, p. 38.

² Powell, p. 38.

³ *Abstract Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1774-1775*, p. 32.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 67.

⁵ McGill, *Short History of American Presbyterianism*, pp. 138-9.

lege graduate. To read and write Latin, and Greek in many cases, was one of the necessary requirements.¹ In the beginning of their experiences, the ministers were graduates from Scotland or from New England Colleges; and in some instances they were graduates from England or Ireland; just as in other denominations. But, by gradual degrees they finally were able to establish a college of their own where they could ordain their ministers without depending upon foreign supplies. Indeed, the organization of the Presbyterian church in the colonies, had this in mind when they first met in Philadelphia to form a Presbytery, which later developed into the famous Philadelphia Synod.

A survey of the work of the Presbyterians in the education of ministers would not be complete without a brief sketch of the history of the Presbyteries whose vast importance cannot be denied. The first Presbytery was that of New Castle, which was organized on March 13, 1717.² Five ministers of Delaware were present at the first meeting. An earnest request having been made by the people of North East, Maryland, for a minister, the Presbytery appointed each minister present to preach one time before the next meeting.³ Thus, the missionary spirit, which was destined to be of great influence in the spread of the gospel and liberal ideas, was exemplified in this first meeting, and was one of the chief factors of the body.

During the next thirteen years eight ministers were ordained by the Presbytery, and twenty were enrolled as members;⁴ and by 1731 twenty-seven elders had attended the meeting of the Presbytery.⁵ During the next twenty-eight years twenty-two members were received from other Presbyteries, and thirteen were received by ordination.⁶ This shows the rapid spread of Presbyterianism in Delaware during these eventful years; and gives some idea of the Presbyterian influence over civil and religious affairs.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 138.

² Vallandigham, *History of the Presbytery of New Castle, 1717-1888*, p. 3

³ Vallandigham, *History of the Presbytery of New Castle*, p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 8.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 9-11.

During the period from 1759 to 1773, the main business of this Presbytery was to examine and license candidates for the ministry; to ordain and install pastors; to supply vacancies, either by sending settled pastors to give part of their time to vacancies, or to grant permission for licentiates to preach on probation in these desolate regions.¹ This advantage for a provision for the supply of ministers within the colony itself caused much comment on the part of the clergy of the Established Church, who had to depend on England for supplies. It also gave the Presbyterians freedom of action, and an initiative, which made them a tremendous power in forming public opinion; and in the leadership in this colony for the principles of civil and religious liberty.

We have mentioned the fact that the Episcopalians have the credit of making education universal in Delaware; but it remained for the Presbyterians to raise the standards of education so that the children of the worthy colonists could have the advantage of a college within their own neighborhood. As early as 1738 the Presbytery of Lewes made a proposal to the Synod of Philadelphia, as follows: "That this part of the world where God has ordered our lot, labours under a grievous disadvantage for want of the opportunities of universities, and professors skilled in the several branches of useful learning, and that many students from Europe are especially cramped in persecuting their studies, their parents removing to these colonies before they have an opportunity of attending the college, after having spent some years at the grammar school; and that many persons born in this country groan under the same pressure, whose circumstances are not able to support them to spend a course of years in Europe, or New England colleges, which discourages much, and must be a detriment to our church; for we know that natural parts, however promising, for want of being well improved, must be marred of their usefulness; and cannot be so extensively serviceable to the public, and the want of due pains and care paves the way for ignorance, and this for a formidable train of sad consequences. To prevent this evil, it is humbly proposed as a remedy, that every student who has not

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 9-11.

studied with approbation, passing the usual courses in some of the New England, or European colleges, approved by public authority, shall, before he be encouraged by any Presbytery for the sacred work of the ministry, apply himself to this Synod, and that they appoint a committee of their members yearly, whom they know to be well skilled in the several branches of philosophy, and divinity, and the languages, to examine such students in this place, and finding them well accomplished in those several parts of learning, shall allow them a public testimonial from the Synod, which, till better provisions be made, will in some measure answer the design of taking a degree in college. And for encouragement of students let this be done, without putting them to further expense than attending. And let it be an objection against none, where they have read, or what books, but let all encouragement be only according to merit. And 'tis hoped this will fill our youth with a laudable emulation, prevent errors young men may imbibe by reading without direction, or things of little value, will banish ignorance, fill our infant church with men eminent for parts and learning, and advance the glory of God, and the honour of our Synod both at home and among our neighbors, who conceive a low opinion of us for want of such favorable opportunities. 'Tis further proposed, that all that are not licensed to preach the gospel, what university or college wheresoever they come from, may undergo the same trials.”¹

An analysis of this important document brings out the following facts: (1) The colonists were suffering from lack of an opportunity of attending college, after having completed their elementary education; (2) the students who had recently come over, as well as the ones who were natives of Delaware were being deprived of a college education; (3) that the public would lose some good leaders, if the natural talents of these students were not developed; (4) That there were numerous men in their own Synod who could handle courses in philosophy, divinity and the languages in such a way that their instruction would be equal to the knowledge gained in college; (5) that instruction would be without expense to the students; (6) that encouragement would be given according to merit;

¹ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 141.

(7) that this would be a means of encouraging the youths to study, and therefore, would dispel the ignorance so prevalent in these regions; (8) and, finally, it would force the Episcopalians to respect their ministers as men of learning and prominence. Thirty years before hostilities began, therefore, the Presbyterians, through the power of their religion, were breaking away from the powers that be, and were providing themselves with an education that would fit men to take their places among the foremost statesmen of the Revolutionary period. Their love and desire for education was an inheritance from their forefathers; but their initiative in providing for education under new environments is worthy of the admiration of every intelligent people.¹ As some idea of the work of educating and examining the ministers has already been given, it is merely necessary to add that the Presbyteries of Lewes and New Castle, in Delaware, supplied a college education for candidates for the Presbyterian ministry, and they also were influential in establishing the Old Log Church in New Jersey, a college organized primarily for the education of Presbyterian ministers.

A revision of this order was made in 1739, which provided that the candidates for the ministry "shall be examined by the whole Synod, or its commission, as to those preparatory studies which we generally pass through at the college, and if they find him qualified, they shall give him a certificate, which shall be received by our respective Presbyteries as equivalent to a diploma or certificate from the college."²

As a matter of course, the adherents of Log College, at Neshiminy, which had primarily been designed for the education of the four sons of William Tennent, and later developed into a college for the Presbyterian ministry, raised serious objections.³ It appeared to them that their work was being discounted, and that a Synodical college was to be erected. In retaliation, the members of the Log College faction ignored the rule of the Synod of Phila-

¹ Vallandigham, *History of the Presbytery of New Castle*. p 3.

² Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America*, p. 420; Records of Philadelphia Synod, p. 147.

³ Murphy, *The Presbytery of Log College*, p. 73.

delphia, and licensed John Rowland, a Log College graduate. However, Rowland was notified that he would have to abide by the ruling of the Synod, and would not be permitted to preach until he submitted to an examination by that body.

In order to carry out the designs of the Synod, a committee was appointed to meet at Philadelphia for the purpose of making plans for the erection of an institution of learning that would meet the needs of anyone who wished a higher education. Two members were to go to Europe to obtain aid, but various things delayed them in this pursuit, such as the war between Spain and England, and friction at home with respect to church discipline.¹ In the meantime the Log College forces had joined the Synod of New York in an attempt to form the Synod of New Jersey, with the intention of making application for a charter from the government for the College of New Jersey. But the death of William Tennent, May 6, 1746, acted as a palliative upon the members of the Philadelphia Synod and Log College, and they came to an understanding that, after all, they were both striving for the same ideal, and it would be to their interests to unite their energies. As a result, five of the twelve of the trustees for the College were elected from the Log College adherents.²

The College of New Jersey, which sprang into being from the suggestions made by the Lewes Presbytery in the Annual Meeting of the Synod of Philadelphia, 1738, was differentiated from other colleges of similar equipment, from the fact of its broad policy, for it was not designed as "a denominational agency but as an educational agency from which all the learned professors could benefit." The privilege of higher education should not debar anyone "on account of any speculative principles of religion" has been the policy of the college through the years when it was called The College of New Jersey, and since that time under the University of Princeton.³

¹ Ford, p. 421.

² *Ibid*, p. 424; Records, p. 185.

³ Ford, p. 424. There are various opinions as to the origin of the College of New Jersey. In 1822, President Ashbel Green claimed that the origin of the College was due to a rupture in 1741, which resulted in the division of the Synod of Philadelphia, and the organization of the Synod of New York as a rival body.

³ *Ibid*, p. 425.

Thus it may be seen that the initiative of the Delaware Presbytery in 1738, was a powerful factor from a religious and educational point of view, which had a tremendous influence over the men who piloted the affairs of state through two of the greatest critical periods of our history.

QUAKER EDUCATION

Although the Episcopalians have the honor of being the first to introduce universal education into Delaware, and the Presbyterians for their provisions for higher education, there remain two honors for the Quakers which mark them as worthy leaders in the intellectual world. They have the honor of making the first provision for a school of industrial arts; and they were the first to provide for a public school system.¹ When under the government of Pennsylvania, a provision was made for the government to erect and control a public school system; and for the encouragement of inventions and sciences, a suitable reward was offered. A committee was also provided to look after the conduct of the children as well as the adults of the province, in order to train them in virtuous ways of living. Another law provided for industrial education of all children twelve years old or over, to prepare for any emergency that might arise in their future lives.² This was the basis of industrial education in the United States. The study of manual training seemed to be of more importance than a knowledge of the languages and literature, according to the ideas of the great leader of the Quakers, who planned his form of government in 1682.

After the "Great Law" was passed by the Pennsylvania legislature, it was provided that this book of laws should be taught in all schools.³ Other laws followed, which provided for the building of school houses, and the governor of the province together with one-third of the council were to constitute a committee to manage the education of the younger generation.

¹ Powell, pp. 28-29.

² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³ *Charters and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania*, p. 123. William and Mary abrogated this law, 1693.

Compulsory education was provided for by forcing all who did not have their children educated in reading and writing before reaching the age of twelve, a fine of five pounds was to be paid for every healthy and sound child. Besides, children were to be taught some useful trade, which clearly anticipated our present method of industrial education. This law for compulsory education far exceeds any other provision of a similar nature made in America, because there was no opportunity to evade the law. However, the law was abrogated ten years later, under the rule of William and Mary; but was re-enacted at a later time, and remains on record to the present time as a fitting memorial of the interest in education taken by the Quakers.¹

The oldest school in Delaware which has had a continuous existence since its establishment, is the Friends' School in Wilmington. It is indeed a quaint old relic of the colonial days, standing near the center of the city just as it stood during the Revolutionary period. On the inside are the colonial "forms" and the straight-backed benches. The little chapel, which is really a part of the school, has stood the test of ages, and the Friends are there also, carrying out their principles just as they did in the pre-Revolutionary period. This old school was built in 1748, and served as an elementary school up to the time of the Revolution, where the chief studies taught were "Readin, 'Riten, and 'Rithmetic."² But, probably more students passed through its doors with a knowledge of these subjects than can be credited to any other school within the bounds of Delaware. Thus, we may say that the Quakers have the honor of making more general provisions for the education of the younger children than those which were made by any other denomination.³

WILMINGTON SCHOOLS

Unfortunately, these commendable beginnings on the part of the various denominations were not conducive to an establishment for a public school system. There was a general tendency

¹ Powell, p. 29.

² *Ibid*, p. 43.

³ Powell, p. 43.

on the part of each of the sects to provide denominational schools of higher learning, with a general purpose for the preparation to become ministers of the gospel. On the other hand, with the exception of the schools under the control of the Quakers, the younger students had to depend upon private schools for their elementary education. There were numerous schools in Delaware throughout the colonial period, run by private individuals, regardless of racial or religious differences. The teachers of these schools were not well educated; but they had strong moral characters, and naturally had a good influence in the community. The course of instruction, in general, was very elementary, including reading, writing and arithmetic, and sometimes needlework for girls.

One of the most popular of these schools was conducted by Mrs. Elizabeth Way, an energetic Baptist, from the Brandywine Church, who moved to Wilmington in 1764. Her famous school was established for the instruction of needlework, and during her thirty years of service, nearly two-thirds of the female inhabitants of the town could boast that they had studied the art of shirt-making, or of fancy work under her strict supervision. Mrs. Montgomery, who knew her personally, remembered that she kept "a bunch of switches or cat-o-nine-tails" which "were freely used to correct the naughty."¹ In case any of them slighted her work, leather spectacles had to be worn; and if any of the girls held the head too low, or bent too far forward, while sewing, there were various ways of punishment to make the "crooked way Straight."¹

John Thedwell was another famous schoolmaster in Wilmington during the Revolutionary period. Besides teaching school, his duties were so numerous that we would be inclined to call him a "Jack-of-all-trades," were he living at the present time. According to the account of his friend, Mrs. Montgomery, he was "an exhorter," "a ruler," "a clerk of the market," "a bellman," and "a crier."² In his school he used the ancient Horn Book, which was merely a thin board, containing the alphabet, the numerals,

¹ Powell, p. 41.

² *Ibid*, p. 42.

and the Lord's prayer, covered over with a transparent piece of horn, and securely fastened to a brass plate, to "protect it from the unwashed fingers of the pupils."¹ After the Revolution, England ceased to import this important article, and the future generations had to be content with Dillworth's old spelling book, as a substitute. The school was opened by prayer and the singing of a hymn; and the Bible was used as a text book for the Senior class. If perchance, a spirit of independence held sway for a moment, the ferule was at hand to subdue the young republican until further subjection was found to be necessary. Both boys and girls attended this school, but strange to say, the boys went in at the front entrance, and the girls up the alley. However, it is probable that the eldest daughter of John Thedwell had entire charge of the girls.²

Among other noted schoolmasters in Wilmington, may be mentioned Master Wilson, who had been made notorious as the first man in Delaware who objected to higher education for women. Although his school was open to both sexes, he did not think it necessary for girls to "go in arithmetic further than simple division, 'cause it was no use; only tom boys, with big slates, would care to cipher in the Double Rule of Three."³ Another was James Filson, who taught school in Wilmington during the pre-Revolutionary period. After the Revolution, he returned; but decided later to make his abode with Daniel Boone in Kentucky, and while there he became a famous historian.⁴

These numerous schools in Wilmington, such as they were, just before the Revolution, leads us to believe that there was an opportunity for all who had money to pay for their schooling, and in many cases for those poorer people who wished to go to school, but could not afford to pay for it. From the accounts given, it is evident that the schools were of a very low grade as compared with the schools of the present day; but, judging from the strict supervision over the conduct of the pupils, more attention was

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

² Powell, p. 42.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴ *Ibid.*

paid to the morals than to the actual knowledge of the subject to be learned.

The Old Academy of Wilmington, which was built in 1765, was an institution built by some of the chief leaders of the town. The Rev. Lawrence Girelius, Bishop White, Hon. Thomas McKean, Dr. Robert Smith, Thomas Gilpin, Dr. Nicholas Way, and Joseph Shallcross, were the first trustees; and Robert Patterson was the first President. We do not know how well he taught his pupils in the various branches of knowledge before the Revolutionary War broke out; but as soon as hostilities began he turned his establishment into a military school; and after his pupils had become sufficiently well versed in military tactics, he took several of them with him to the war.¹

About 1774, the Quakers became very much alarmed at the diminution of their membership; and at their yearly meeting they urged parents to take great care in instructing them in the principles of their religion. They were particularly solicitous about the kind of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses under whom they were instructed; for they wished their children to lead a life of self-denial.² And, although the Friends were unable to carry out their plans in this respect, it is interesting to note that as soon as hostilities were ended between the mother country and her colonies, the Quakers began to be less fearful of their religion, and of their records; and it was found that in nearly every place where there was an established Quaker meeting-house, there was invariably a school attached to it.

NEWARK ACADEMY

The most famous school for higher education in Delaware is Newark Academy, whose foundation was laid when the famous Lewes proposal was made to the Synod in 1738.³ A few years before it was organized, a great stream of emigrants came from Scotland and Ireland, bringing with them many schoolmasters, thus furnishing an opportunity for every Presbyterian settlement

¹ Powell, p. 47.

² Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania*, p. 85.

³ Weeks, *History of Public Education in Delaware*, p. 17.

to have a schoolmaster. The usual method of instruction followed by these schoolmasters was for the children to study the catechism at home, and to recite it at school. The Psalms was commonly sung, at the spinning wheel, over the cradle, or in the fields; and the catechisms had to be learned by old and young, rich and poor, servant and master.¹

Many of these settlers landed in Delaware, mainly in the northern part, and along the seacoast. Among them were some of the best classes of people that the countries of Scotland and Ireland could produce; and yet, many of them were poor, and could not afford to go to any further expense for their education. Hence, the school was established by the Presbyterians with the purpose of forming it into a college later. At first the school was established at New London, Pennsylvania, but was removed to Newark, Delaware, in 1752. The first principal was Francis Allison, who was called by President Stiles, of Yale, "the greatest classical scholar in America, especially in Greek."² The Rev. Edward Neill said of him: "As a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, Allison was imbued with the idea that the school was as necessary to the church as the anvil to the blacksmith, and that Christianity must advance by employing keen-eyed science as her servant. He was among the first to agitate for a college in Pennsylvania and Delaware."³ His life is also remarkable because of the famous men who studied under him. Among them were: Col. John Bayard; Ebenezer Hazard, United States Post-Master General, 1782-89; John Henry, United States Senator, 1789-97, governor of Maryland; James Latta, D.D., a famous Presbyterian clergyman; Col. Alexander Martin, governor of North Carolina; Dr. John Ewing, provost of the University of Pennsylvania; Thomas McKean, signer of the Declaration, president of Congress, 1781, governor of Pennsylvania, 1799-1808; George Read, United States senator from Delaware, 1789-1793; and many others.⁴ Surely, the assumption made in the Synod of Philadelphia, that the

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, VIII, p. 45.

² Powell, pp. 73-74.

³

⁴ Powell, 73-74.

Presbyterians could establish a college that would produce men of prominence had been exemplified long before the Revolution.

The importance of the school lies in the fact that it served as a basis for preparing men for the ministry, and to rear men to take their places in the state as statesmen, fitted for the tasks that affronted them in 1775. What more fitting agency could have been made than this institution of learning which educated many Congressmen, many writers, and many lawyers, ministers, and, therefore, prepared them for the fight for independence when the final day arrived. It was at the height of its prosperity as a colonial institution, at the outbreak of the war; but, in 1777, Thomas McKean, governor of Delaware, says of it: "On my arrival, I found all the records and papers of the County of New Castle, and every shilling of the public money, together with the fund belonging to the trustees of Newark Academy, and upwards of \$25,000 in Continental Loan Office, etc., had been captured at Wilmington."¹

Although the exact account has not been ascertained, it is interesting to note that a majority of the famous men of Delaware have been connected with this institution at some time during their lives in the pre-Revolutionary days. Another factor, of vital importance in the history of the institution, is the fact that great care was taken by the Synod to make it an institution on a level or in affiliation with Harvard and Yale. As early as 1745 the Synod of Philadelphia sent an application to the trustees of Yale "to receive their scholars at such stages as their efficiency warranted and to admit them after one year's residence to a degree."² From the fact that a favorable response² was sent shortly afterwards leads us to believe that this was a superior college at this time of its existence; and, also afterwards, if we may judge a college from the type of people who graduate there.

Its rank as a college of a high type of learning was due in a large measure to the fact that it was under the direct supervision of trustees appointed by the Synod, who met twice a year "to inspect the master's diligence and methods of teaching, to direct

² Porter, p. 6.

¹ Powell, p. 72.

what authors are chiefly to be read in the several branches of learning, to examine the scholars as to their proficiency and good conduct, and applying the money procured to such uses as they judge proper, and to order all affairs relating to the schools.”¹ Several ministers and gentlemen helped them to start a library, which added to the success of the school.² In 1773, a permanent endowment fund was formed as a result of generous donations from the Penns and other worthy gentlemen.³ This interest on the part of the Penns, was, no doubt, aroused by the famous alumni⁴ who lived in Pennsylvania.

KENT COUNTY SCHOOLS

In Kent County the schools were similar to those in New Castle County, but fewer in number. The people in this section of Delaware were much more ignorant than they were in the communities north of them, owing to the fact that there was a different type of people who made up the majority of the population, and also that there were more scattered communities, and fewer schools. The first knowledge of schools in this section is given by Dr. Nathaniel Luff, who attended a school in Dover, 1767-1768. He says: “Here I was no longer set on my feet and introduced to my associates than I was led out to battle; as children fight cocks so did these corrupt youths of Dover entrap the innocent and unguarded into a maze of error and dissipation, proportioned to each one’s age and circumstances. A few men anxious for the promotion of their children were excessively gulled by tutors; themselves, unacquainted with the learned languages and sciences, prompted by ambition and secured by wealth, they were willing to go great lengths but for want of proper knowledge they expended their money to little purpose, and established habits that were unsubstantial and hard to eradicate. Thus it was that after being

¹ *Records of the Philadelphia Synod*, p. 187.

² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³ Porter, p. 6.

⁴ Powell, p. 74. (Powell says: *It appears that Dr. Allison instructed no less than four Governors, eight Congressmen, and four signers of the Declaration of Independence.* Certainly few schoolmasters in the United States ever taught a larger number of pupils who afterwards acquired such distinguished reputation.)

two years at school to acquire a knowledge of the Latin language, I was so improperly taught that on my going to Philadelphia I had to begin again, and I found the mode of tuition so diverse that it would have been for my benefit had it been my first essay, and the school tuition was more than two prices in Dover to what it was in Philadelphia, so that I had to pay double price for erroneous principles.”¹

It appears from these statements that the people were becoming aroused to the need of education; but many of them were so ignorant that they were incapable of judging the qualities of a good teacher. From another standpoint, it may have been that they were compelled to employ poor teachers, or suffer the penalty of being deprived of teachers altogether.

SUSSEX COUNTY SCHOOLS

In Sussex County also the educational advantages appear to have been at low ebb. From all information that can be gained from available records, there does not seem to have been a schoolmaster there before 1734, when John Russel, is mentioned as performing the functions of a deputy recorder as well as an educator.² Traditions there were that Lewes had been preeminent throughout the Middle Colonies for its provisions for female education; but there is nothing definite to indicate the authenticity thereof. However, there must have been some form of education even before the time of John Russel. Some people must have been interested from the fact that a special provision was made for the support of schools in Lewes by Thomas Lloyd who ordered that the income obtained from the Grand Marsh, a grazing section situated northwest of the town, should be used for school purposes.² Again, it does not appear reasonable that in a community where a Presbytery had made such an earnest petition for a higher institution of learning, would neglect the elementary education, which furnished a background for the success of a university, or college.

An interesting feature connected with the Lewes schools is the tradition that the first girls' school in America was established

¹ Quoted by Powell, p. 74.

² Powell, p. 61.

in this town. Nothing definite is known about it; but it was probably in existence in the latter part of the seventeenth century. In referring to this period, Watson, the historian, says: "At this early period of time so much had the little town, Lewistown, at our southern cape the preeminence in female tuition, that Thomas Lloyd, the deputy governor, preferred to send his youngest daughters from Philadelphia to that place to finish their education."¹

¹ *Ibid*, Note.

CHAPTER V

SLAVERY IN DELAWARE DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

LAWS RELATING TO SLAVERY

Before entering into the subject of slavery from the viewpoint of the denominations, it is well to know something about the restrictions on slavery made by the government of Delaware. In 1767, an act was passed for the better regulation of slavery. This was found necessary, owing to the fact that experience with free negroes had shown them to "be idle and slothful, and often prove burdensome to the neighborhood wherein they live, and are evil examples to slaves."¹ In the case of a negro above the age of thirty-five, or one who was infirm, and unable to take care of himself, an indemnity of thirty pounds must be furnished by the owner, in order to secure the colony from any charge that might be incurred in case of illness, or inability to support one's self, and the negro would not receive his freedom until this was paid.¹

Another act of the Legislature was found necessary to be made for the support of negro children, whose parents either refused or were unable to take care of them. The law provides that the Justice of the Peace and the Overseer of the Poor form themselves into a committee to bind these children out to servitude until they were twenty-one in the case of males, and eighteen in the case of females.²

There was also an act wherein free negroes were prohibited from entertaining slaves; and in case of a violation of this act they were subject to a fine. Inability, or a refusal to pay the fine, resulted in a public whipping.³ Certain rewards were also

¹ *Delaware Laws*, Vol. I, p. 210.

² *Ibid*, 214, 435.

³ *Delaware Laws*, Vol. I, p. 214.

offered for taking up slaves who ventured ten miles from home.¹ And, any one who stole a slave, or who bought a stolen slave, was to be subject to the death penalty without the benefit of clergy.²

THE BAPTISTS AND SLAVERY

The Baptists in Delaware have left no records as to their attitude toward slavery; but it is reasonable to surmise that there was very little slavery ownership among the members of this religious sect in the colony. It is not probable that the people who lived within their fields of labor around the Welsh Tract Church, near Iron Hill, would be likely to own slaves as most of these inhabitants were miners, shop keepers, blacksmiths, with a few bankers and lawyers as a very small part of the community. However, there is a possibility of a few planters owning slaves in Pencader,³ and in the lowlands of Kent and Sussex Counties; but there is no record, as far as we know, that such was the case. It is more probable that they took the same attitude as the Quakers upon this subject, as they were very similar to them in many respects during the colonial period.

An observation to this effect was taken by a Frenchman, named La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who traveled in the United States after peace was declared between England and the United States at the close of the Revolutionary War. He informs us that the Baptists and the Quakers kept no slaves while other denominations did. He also remarks that the Baptists and the Quakers were probably of the same mind in regard to admitting negroes to membership in their churches, on the basis of the principle of the brotherhood of man.⁴ Among the main things that both of these denominations stressed before the Revolution was that masters should give their slaves time for religious worship.⁵

¹ *Ibid*, p. 215.

² *Ibid*, p. 237.

³ *Baptist Library*, Vol. I, p. 293. (Morgan Edwards is mentioned as purchasing a plantation near Newark, New Castle County, in 1772; but it is not recorded that he owned slaves.)

⁴ Philadelphia Baptist Association, p. 105. (The Baptists are urged to "do all things whatsoever may tend to promote brotherly love and charity;" but no mention of slavery is recorded.)

⁵ La Rochefoucauld-Laincourt, *Travels*, p. 237.

THE EPISCOPALIANS AND SLAVERY

After the Quakers, the Episcopalians were the most important agencies, as far the records show, in seeking the welfare of the negro. They differed, however, in their methods and ideas of what should be done for them. The Quakers believed that unless the negro had his freedom first, an education would be of little value to him; but it was vitally necessary that he should be instructed in moral conduct, and in the pious religion of the Friends. On the other hand, the Episcopalians were not interested at first, in freeing the negroes; but they had always been more or less interested in their religious instruction. It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century, possibly before the Revolution, that many of the clergymen began to make preparations for the freedom of the slaves by teaching them such knowledge as would make them ready to appreciate their freedom when it was obtained. They looked upon the slaves as a very dependent and weak people, both morally and intellectually; and they believed that emancipation without some knowledge of what a person should know in order to take care of one's self would be of little value, and would probably result in a return to slavery.

The missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were probably the only workers among the Episcopalians for the welfare of the negroes. They saw that they were baptized, and that they had the right kind of religious instruction, as far as was in their power; and, in some places accepted them as members of the Church. In Delaware, the Rev. George Ross is the first missionary, of whom we have any record, to take interest in the negroes. In 1727, he reports to the Secretary of the society that there were about fifty negroes in his parish, "concerning whose instruction very little care is taken * * * some of them in the hands of Quakers, who leave them to their own common principles, the natural light. Others are in the possession of Protestant dissenters, who are so taken with the doctrine of absolute decrees, that no great stress is laid upon the outward ceremony of Baptism. Those few who are baptized belong to Churchmen."¹

¹ Perry, *Historical Collections*, Vol. V. P. 47.

Mr. Pugh, another missionary, in his report to the Society, in 1736, writes: "I must confess I do not expect to baptize many Negroes, for their masters are generally so much prejudiced against their being made Christians that it seems past my skill to work any good with them."¹

These statements are similar in their make-up to what the Rev. Mr. Reading has to say in 1752. Writing from his home in Appoquinimy, Delaware, to the Society, he says: "That branch of my duty which relates to the conversion of the unhappy slaves affords the least comfortable prospect. I have often, both publicly and privately, recommended it to the masters and mistresses as a duty of the greatest importance to forward as much as in them lies, the instruction of their slaves; and in serious well-governed families this has had so good effect as to bring some negro adults and many of their children to Christian baptism; but these converts bear no proportion to the numbers of those who live as without God in the world. Some even of our own church who are otherwise well inclined are strongly prejudiced against their slaves being instructed; and I sincerely wish that the slaves themselves by their rebellious behavior after baptism, had not given too much cause for such prejudice: promote the spiritual welfare of this meanest branch of their families, who think but little (if at all) of their own eternal State."²

It would appear from these statements that the missionary had a double duty to perform, one to convert the master to his way of thinking, and the other to lead the negroes in the ways of righteousness for their eternal welfare. The former, being the more powerful factor, were hard to be convinced that better servants would result from such training, instead of the insubordination which they expected from the experience.³ As to the slaves, it was extremely difficult to collect a sufficient number together to give them class instruction, from the fact that the masters opposed any meetings of the negroes, and also because few of them could

¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 196.

² Perry, *Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 184.

³ Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, p. 64.

leave their duties long enough to study, or to listen to the missionaries. The lack of sufficient time, and the scarcity of missionaries also added to the difficulties of negro conversion.¹

Not only the missionaries of the Society were important agencies in the religious welfare of the negro; but the Bishop of London, was instrumental in bringing many things to pass which would lead to the conversion of the blacks. In 1713-1714, they interceded Parliament in behalf of the negro;² and frequent instructions were sent to missionaries, to persuade the masters to take great care in the religious instruction of the negroes.³ Thus, we may readily see that the missionaries, although handicapped, had a mission to perform for the advancement of the negroes as well as the whites.

THE LUTHERANS AND SLAVERY

The Lutherans were, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, opposed to slavery in any form, either among the Indians or the negroes. But, when labor became a problem, after the amount of their land increased, they began to buy slaves, just as the other denominations had done. Their attitude toward their slaves was not as harsh as that in other sects, for they were very particular to give them time for religious instruction; and would not permit them to labor on the Sabbath day, or on any other church festival day. Their attendance at all religious services was compulsory.⁴

Inasmuch as the Swedish Lutherans of Delaware were absorbed by the Episcopalians before the close of the eighteenth century, it is reasonable to surmise that they had adopted their customs, and ideas about slavery. Hence, we may infer that the Swedish Lutherans ignored the slavery question from the standpoint of a religious body; but, that many of them as individuals held slaves, and even a Swedish Lutheran minister is said to have possessed a slave in 1732.⁵ Yet, the negroes were always instructed

¹ Humphreys, S. P. G., p. 234.

² *Ibid*, pp. 60-62; Jernegan, *Slavery and Conversion in the American Colonies* (in Amer. Hist. Rev. Vol. XXI, p. 510.)

³ *Ibid*, p. 511.

⁴ Jacobs, p. 168.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 101.

in religious exercises,¹ and they were possibly better taken care of than many of the white servants who came over from Europe.

We may gain some idea of the general attitude of the Swedish Lutherans in their daily walks of life. Many of them were merchants, who did not need slave labor; others were farmers, who could have used them if they could have afforded it. In case of the latter view being true, the planter, or farmer, would possibly buy a number of young negroes as was done in Georgia; and these would be placed under a religious instructor.¹

THE METHODISTS AND SLAVERY

As a denomination, the Methodists were also rather indifferent to slavery. They do not seem to have looked upon the subject as worthy of consideration; for we find no references to the subject in their early conferences. However, there were two famous Methodists who spent a great part of their time in Delaware during the Revolutionary War, who expressed their opposition to slavery. On June 16, 1776, Francis Asbury writes in his *Journal*: "After preaching * * * I met the class, and then the black people, some of whose unhappy masters forbid their coming for religious instruction. How will these sons of oppression answer for their conduct when the Great Proprietor of all shall call them to their account?"² Freeborn Garretson, the other famous Methodist, manumitted his slaves even before the close of the Revolutionary War.³

The slavery question seems to have troubled Mr. Asbury a great deal, for on June 10, 1778, he again writes: "I find the more pious part of the people called Quakers, are exerting themselves for the liberation of the slaves. This is a very laudable design; and what the Methodists must come to, or I fear the Lord will depart from them. But there is cause to presume, that some are more intent on promoting the freedom of their bodies, than the freedom of their souls; without which they must be vassals of Satan in

¹ Jernegan, Op. cit. p. 510.

² Asbury, *Journal*, I, p. 141; Matlock, *Methodism and Slavery*, p. 12.

³ McTyiere, p. 310

eternal fire. Sometimes I have been afraid that I have done wrong in retiring from the work; though, as far as I can judge, the glory of God and the prosperity of the church, were my chief objects."¹ Wesley had the same point of view, when he said: "Liberty is the right of every human creature as soon as he breathes the air, and no human law can deprive him of it. I absolutely deny all slaveholdings to be consistent with any degree of natural justice."

THE PRESBYTERIANS AND SLAVERY

The Presbyterians paid very little attention to the subject of slavery up to the time of the Revolutionary War, at which time they began to realize how much liberty meant to them. No official action was taken by any of the Presbyteries or the Synods before 1774, when Rev. Ezra Stiles and Rev. Samuel Hopkins brought before the Synod of New York and Philadelphia a representation "respecting the sending of two natives of Africa on a mission to propagate Christianity in their native country, and a request that the Synod would countenance this undertaking by an appropriation of it," was read at the yearly conference.² After much discussion, a committee was appointed to consider the matter. Although Messrs. John Miller,³ Caldwell, Dr. Rogers, and Montgomery, all men of efficiency, were on the committee, nothing seems to have been accomplished,⁴ and the subject is not mentioned again until 1780, when the records give the following information: "The committee appointed to review the records of the Synod as far back as the year 1774, report that an affair respecting the enslaving of negroes appears to have been before the Synod, A. D. 1774, but by some means passed over the following Synods, and not since resumed."⁵

As far as the Presbyterian ministers in Delaware were concerned, we have at least one instance which may give some idea

¹ Asbury, Journal, 214-216; Matlock 22-3.

² *Records of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia*, p. 456.

³ Miller was connected with the Delaware churches for years.

⁴ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 456.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 487.

of their attitude toward slavery. Aside from the information that the Presbyterians were not hostile to slavery, it merely mentions the fact that Matthew Wilson, a Presbyterian of Lewes, Delaware, was "indulgent to the negroes to whom he was master, quick to aid the poor and distressed."¹

THE QUAKERS AND SLAVERY

During the early history of the Quaker regime in Pennsylvania, when Delaware was a part of that province, the Friends, in common with other colonists, were compelled to use slave labor on their plantations, on their small farms, and in their homes, since very few white servants were available.² This fact was augmented by William Penn, who "offered the Swedes a piece of land, where they might live together, and enjoy their own customs."³ The only requirement made by Penn was that the people under his jurisdiction should be willing to acknowledge the one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World," and all who lived "peaceably and justly in civil society" should not be molested in their customs and manners of religious worship.⁴ This freedom of worship granted to the people of Pennsylvania naturally applied to Delaware, a province of Pennsylvania at that time.

Although the Quakers did not reach the point of freeing their slaves until the latter part of the eighteenth century, they treated them more humanely than did most of the colonists; they considered them as brethren, sympathized with their failings, and were always careful about their religious instruction.⁵ It is universally known that the Quakers were the most influential of all religious denominations in providing for the freedom of their slaves during the colonial period. In 1730, at their Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, they advised that all Friends should be very cautious about buying slaves in the future as it was obnoxious

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, VIII, p. 55.

² Woody, T. *Early Quaker Education*, p. 237; Applegarth, p. 67.

³ Clay, *Annals*, p. 30.

⁴ Bowden, 11. p. 14.

⁵ Applegarth, p. 76.

to their principles.¹ In 1758, the verdict went forth from the Yearly Meeting that the Monthly Meetings should be particularly earnest in their efforts to induce all Friends who still owned slaves to set them at liberty.² Consequently, committees were appointed at the Monthly Meetings for the purpose of appealing to all Friends who purchased slaves after this date.³ John Woolman, the famous apostle of emancipation, was present at this memorable meeting; and he urged upon the Friends to delay the freedom of the slaves no longer. From this time forward there was a gradual reduction in the number of slaves among Friends.⁴ By 1774, the Yearly Meeting could report that its members had practically accomplished the freedom of slaves among Friends.⁵ But there still remained a few Quakers who continued to disregard the admonition of Friends,⁶ claiming their right to hold slaves who had come to them by inheritance.⁷ In 1775, it was decided to exclude all Friends from membership in their Society if they continued to hold slaves;⁸ but decided action was not taken until the Yearly Meeting in 1776, when "a statute of excommunication was launched against every member who should longer detain a negro in a state of bondage."⁹ But the obligation of the Quakers did not end with this emancipation; for a further announcement to the Monthly Meetings instructed them to provide for a suitable living for the negro.¹⁰

Although there are no available records of the Monthly Meetings in Delaware to show what was actually done by the Friends, in this province, it is safe to surmise that they were not lacking in their efforts to bring about the freedom of the slave. Indeed, we have the assurance of Mr. Early that Delaware was not only the first province in America, but the first country in the world to make a special enactment for the prohibition of

¹ Early, *Heritage of the South*, p. 30.

² Applegarth, *Quakers in Pennsylvania*, p. 79.

³ Jones, p. 518.

⁴ Bowden, Vol. II, p. 212.

⁵ *Rise and Progress of the Testimony of Friends against Slavery*, p. 24.

⁶ Bowden, II, p. 215.

⁷ Applegarth, p. 79.

⁸ Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends*, III, 315-7.

⁹ Applegarth, p. 181.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 182.

slavery within its limits. Unfortunately, the enactment which was made in 1771, was vetoed by William Penn.¹ However, it shows the attitude of the Quakers at this time. It bears a further significance from the fact that the prohibition of the slave trade was incorporated in the first Constitution of Delaware, in 1776.¹

The right of religious instruction was always provided for negroes owned by Friends. As early as the seventeenth century we have evidence from George Fox that he took a special interest in the instruction of the negroes.² In 1696, the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting urged their members to be careful about the treatment of the negroes in their possession.³ In 1758, the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania published a letter in which it was recommended to all Friends who held slaves by inheritance to "watch over them for good, instructing them in the fear of God, and the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ, that they may be glorified and honoured by them as well as by us. And so train them up, that if you come to behold their unhappy situation * * * and should think it your duty to set them free, they may be the more capable of making proper use of their liberty."⁴

The Quakers, by their example as a religious body, and by individual effort, in behalf of the negro, probably had a great influence upon other religious denominations. They surely must have a strong influence in creating a more sympathetic disposition toward the negroes, and were the leading spirits that started the movement for the freedom of the slaves.⁵

In 1774, a union of Quakers with other denominations was formed for the purpose of uniting their forces in behalf of the slaves. John Pemberton, a Quaker, and Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, were apparently the leaders. This Society was the first of its kind formed in America "for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief

¹ Early, *The Heritage of the South*, p. 30.

² Fox, *A Collection of many select and Christian epistles*, etc., I, p. 144, epistle 153, "To Friends beyond the Sea, that have blacks and Indian slaves."

³ Clarkson, Thomas, *The History of the Rise and Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*. Wilmington. 1816. p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 59-60.

⁵ Bowden, II, 212-213; Clarkson, pp. 59-60, 69.

of free negroes, unlawfully held in bondage.¹ Similar societies were formed in Delaware; and, as they were in frequent correspondence with the Society in Pennsylvania, they no doubt used their earnest efforts to obtain freedom for the slaves in Delaware.¹

In 1776, the Yearly Meeting directed its Monthly Meetings to disown members who persisted in holding slaves. The quest put forth by them at this time is as follows: "Are Friends clear of importing, purchasing, disposing of, or holding mankind as slaves? And do they use these well, who are set free, and necessarily under their care, and not in circumstances through nonage, or incapacity, to minister to their own necessities? And are they careful to educate and encourage them in a religious and virtuous life?"²

The Western section, to which Delaware belonged, replied in 1777, to the following effect: "Clear of importing and disposing of mankind as slaves, also of purchasing, in all our meetings, except one, from which a doubt is hinted in one case. Some within the compass of the Meeting yet continue to hold slaves; though many have manumitted since last year."³

¹ Clarkson, pp. 72-73.

² Bowden, II, p. 214.

³ Bowden, II, pp. 214-215.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In summarizing the religious forces that were in action at the outbreak of the Revolution, there are two factors which stand out prominently, which have an important bearing upon the period, namely, the development of the dissenting sects after the middle of the eighteenth century, and the gradual decline of the Established Church, from the standpoint of initiative, power, independence, and numbers. The rapid rise to power of the Presbyterian denomination is one of the most remarkable events of the Revolutionary period; as it had a strong influence in preparing the people for the conflict with England.

Long before the Revolution came to a crisis, the various denominations were divided in their opinions as to certain rights and privileges. The divisions were even more marked when hostilities began. The Episcopalians, in the main were loyalists, together with their cousins, the Methodists. The Quakers remained neutral from conscientious scruples throughout the war. The Presbyterians and the Baptists were staunch patriots. The struggle for religious liberty in America was carried over to the war for political liberty, and it really culminated in a contest between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians.

As to the attitude of the various denominations toward education, we may briefly state that the elementary schools were non-sectarian; but the higher institutions of learning were under the control of the Presbyterians and the Friends. The grammar schools were taught by men and women of good moral character, but who were not always blessed with a type of knowledge that would qualify them to become good teachers.

The slavery question was practically ignored by all of the denominations except the Quakers. The latter sect consistently opposed slavery from 1758 up to the close of the Revolution. Very few of the Quakers owned slaves at the time of the Revolution.

Appendix

CHURCHES IN DELAWARE IN 1776

BY DENOMINATIONS

A. BAPTISTS

Welsh Tract—New Castle County
Asplund—Baptist Register, p. 23.

B. CATHOLICS

Mount Cuba*—New Castle County
Records of the American Catholic Historical
Society of Philadelphia, Vol. 1, p. 128.
Coffee Run, St. Mary's Chapel—New Castle County.

C. EPISCOPALIANS

Apoquinimink—New Castle County.
S. P. G. Abstracts, 1776, p. 29.
Cedar Creek—Sussex County.
S. P. G. Abstracts, 1776, p. 30.
Dover—Kent County
S. P. G. Abstracts, 1776, p. 29.
Duck Creek—Kent County.
S. P. G. Abstracts, 1776, p. 29.
Forest Church*—Sussex County.
S. P. G. Abstracts, 1775, p. 41.
Indian River—Sussex County.
S. P. G. Abstracts, 1776, p. 29.
Lewes—Sussex County.
S. P. G. Abstracts, 1776, p. 30.
New Castle—New Castle County.
S. P. G. Abstracts, 1776, p. 29.

* Churches not definitely located.

EPISCOPALIANS (Cont.)

St. Anne—Near Middleton, New Castle County.

S. P. G. Abstracts, 1774, p. 38.

St. James—New Castle County.

S. P. G. Abstracts, 1774, p. 38

St. Matthews*—Sussex County.

S. P. G. Abstracts, 1775, p. 41.

St. Paul*—Kent County.

S. P. G. Abstracts, 1776, p. 30.

D. LUTHERANS—Swedish

Wilmington—New Castle County.

Conrad, Vol. I, p. 309.

E. QUAKERS—Meeting Houses

Brandywine*—New Castle County.

Michener, pp. 102; 95.

Center*—New Castle County.

Michener, p. 94.

Christiana—New Castle County.

Scharf, p. 940.

Cold Springs—Sussex County.

Michener, p. 115.

Duck Creek—Kent County.

Scharf, p. 1259.

George's Creek—New Castle County.

Conrad, II, p. 767.

Hockesson—New Castle County.

Michener, p. 103.

* Churches not definitely located.

QUAKERS (Cont.)

Lewes—Sussex County.

Conrad, II, p. 767.

Little Creek—Kent County.

Conrad, II, 767.

Marshy Creek*—Sussex County.

Michener, p. 116.

Mispillion—Cedar Creek*—Sussex County.

Michener, p. 115.

Motherkill—Kent County.

Scharf, p. 1130.

Newark, New Castle County.

Conrad, II, p. 766.

Wilmington—New Castle County.

Conrad, II, p. 767.

F.—PRESBYTERIANS

Appoquinimy—New Castle County.

Gillett, II, p. 3.

Blackwater—Sussex County.

Scharf, p. 1342; Sprague, *Annals*, III, p. 361.

Brandywine—New Castle County.

Mackey, *White Clay Creek Presbyterian Church*, p. 12.

Christiana Bridge—New Castle County.

Gillett, II, p. 4; Sprague, III, p. 347.

Cool Springs—Sussex County.

Scharf, pp. 1231, 1220; Sprague, III, p. 178; Gillett, II, 9.

* Churches not definitely located

PRESBYTERIANS (Cont)

Dover—Kent County.

Sprague, III, p. 170; Scharf, p. 1155; Gillett, II, p. 9.

Drawyer's Creek—New Castle County.

Sprague, III, p. 301; Gillett, II, p. 6; Conrad, II, 770-2.

Duck Creek—Kent County.

Gillett, I, p. 98.

Elk River*—New Castle County.

Mackey, *White Clay Creek*, p. 12.

Georgetown—Sussex County.

Spottswood, *Historical Sketch of the Presbyterian Church*, New Castle, p. 27.

Head of Christiana—New Castle County.

Spottswood, p. 27; Mackey, p. 22; Gillett, II, pp. 3-4.

Indian River—Sussex County.

Sprague, III, p. 178; Gillett, II, p. 9; Scharf, p. 1274.

Laurel—Sussex County.

Scharf, p. 1329.

Lewes—Sussex County.

Gillett, II, p. 9; Sprague, III, pp. 178, 361; Scharf, 1231.

Lower Brandywine—New Castle County.

Jones, *Lower Brandywine*, pp. 13, 32, 41; Sprague, III, 889.

Middleton—("Forest Church")—New Castle County.

Jones, p. 23, Scharf, p. 889; Webster, p. 578; Conrad, II, p. 773.

Milford—("Three Runs")—Sussex County.

Gillett, II, p. 9; Conrad, II, p. 773.

* Churches not definitely located

PRESBYTERIANS (Cont)

Mill Creek—New Castle County.

Mackey, p. 22; Sprague, III, p. 326.

Murderkill—Kent County.

Sprague, III, p. 361; Scharf, p. 1154.

Newark—New Castle County.

Porter, *Historical Discourse*, p. 5; Sprague, III, p. 301

New Castle—New Castle County.

Sprague, III, p. 347; Scharf, p. 1342.

Pencader*—New Castle County.

Heberton, *History of Elkton Presbyterian Church*, pp. 3-4; Vallandingham, p. 3; Briggs, p. 193; Gillett, II, p. 4; Webster, p. 374.

Red Clay Creek—New Castle County.

Jones, pp. 30, 32; Gillett, II, p. 3.

Smyrna—Kent County.

Sprague, III, 170; Gillett, II, p. 9.

St. George—New Castle County

Miller, *Memoir of Rev. John Rogers*, p. 105; Webster, p. 52.

Taylor's Bridge—New Castle County.

Scharf, p. 1626; Webster, p. 375.

Thoroughfare Neck—Kent County.

Scharf, p. 1026.

White Clay Creek—New Castle County.

Jones, p. 22; Gillett, II, p. 3; Spottswood, p. 27; Mackey, p. 12.

Wilmington—New Castle County.

First Presbyterian Church—Gillett, II, 3; Conrad, II, 773.

Second Presbyterian Church—Gillett, II, p. 3; Sprague, III, 274.

*Churches not definitely located

BY COUNTIES

NEW CASTLE COUNTY

BAPTISTS

Welsh Tract

CATHOLICS

Mount Cuba

Coffee Run

EPISCOPALIANS

Appoquinimink

New Castle

St. Anne, near Middletown

St. James, about eight miles from New Castle

LUTHERANS

"Old Swedes," Wilmington

PRESBYTERIANS

Appoquinimy

Brandywine

Christiana Bridge

Drawyers' Creek

Elk River

Head of Christiana

Lower Brandywine

Middleton

Mill Creek

Newark

Pencader

Red Clay Creek

St. George

Taylor's Bridge

White Clay Creek

Wilmington (two churches)

QUAKERS

Brandywine
Center
George's Creek
Hockesson
Newark
Wilmington

KENT COUNTY

EPISCOPALIANS

Dover
Duck Creek
St. Paul

LUTHERANS

Dover
Duck Creek
Smyrna
Thoroughfare Neck
Murderkill

QUAKERS

Duck Creek
Little Creek
Motherkill

SUSSEX COUNTY

EPISCOPALIANS

Cedar Creek
Forest Church
Indian River
Lewes
St. Matthews

PRESBYTERIANS

Blackwater
Cool Springs
Georgetown
Indian River
Laurel
Lewes
Milford ("Three Runs")

QUAKERS

Cold Springs
Marshy Creek
Mispillion ("Cedar Creek")

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- American Catholic Historical Researches. vol. 1-21. (Includes documents relating to the Catholic Church.)
- Asbury, Francis. The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815—New York, N. Bangs and T. Mason, 1821. 3v.
- Asplund, John. The Annual Register of the Baptist Denomination, in North America, to the first of November, 1790. Containing an account of the churches and their constitutions, ministers members, associations, their plan and sentiments, rule and order, proceedings and correspondence—(n.p.) 1791.
- Delaware. Laws of the State of Delaware from October 14, 1700, to August 18, 1797. In two volumes. By authority. New Castle. Samuel and John Adams. 1797.
- Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York—Albany, Weed, Parsons, and company, printers, 1853-87. 15v.
- Force, Peter. Tracts and other papers relating principally to the origin, settlement, and progress of the colonies in North America, from the discovery of the country to the year 1776. Collected by Peter Force. Washington, Printed by Peter Force. 1836-46. 4v.
- Friends, Society of. *Philadelphia Yearly Meeting*. A brief statement of the rise and progress of the history of the religious Society of Friends, against slavery and the slave-trade. Published by direction of the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia, in the fourth month, 1843. Published by J. and W. Kite, Philadelphia, 1843.

Michener, Ezra. A retrospect of Quakerism; being extracts from the records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Meetings composing it. To which is prefixed an account of their first establishment. Philadelphia, F. E. Zell, 1860.

Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and adjacent states. Proceedings of the annual convention from 1748 and 1821. Comp. and tr. from records in the archives and from written protocols. Philadelphia, Board of publications of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1898.

Minutes of the General Convention of Delegates appointed by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and the General Association of Connecticut 1766-1775.

Papers relating to the province of Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution. (In Pennsylvania archives. Harrisburg 1876. 2d ser. v.2.

Pascoe, C. F. Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892. London, Published at the Society's Office, 1893.

Pascoe, C. F. Two Hundred Years of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1700-1900. London, 1901.

Pennsylvania. Digest of the Pennsylvania statute laws, 1920. (Complete) based on Pepper and Lewis' Digest of laws of Pennsylvania, containing all the general statutes of the commonwealth down to 1921; with notes showing sources and derivation of statutes and a chronological table of acts 1683 to 1920; comp. by members of the editorial staff of the West Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minnesota. West. Pub. Co., 1921.

Pennsylvania (province) Pennsylvania Archives. (1st ser.) ed. by S. Hazard, Philadelphia, 1852-56. 12. v.

Pennsylvania (province). Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania from the organization to the termination of the proprietary government; published by the state. V. 1-10. Mar. 10, 1683 to October 17, 1777. Philadelphia, printed by Jo. Severns & Co., 1852, Harrisburg, Theo. Fen & Co., 1851-52. 10 v.

Vol. 10 contains the minutes of the Council of Safety from June 20, 1775, to Nov. 12, 1776.

Continued as Minutes of Supreme Executive Council from its organization to the termination of the revolution.

Perry, William Stephens. Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church—Hartford, Conn., Printed for the subscribers, 1870-78. 5v. in 4.

Philadelphia Baptist Association. Minutes, 1707-1807. Philadelphia, 1861 (Published by the Association).

Rise and Progress of the testimony of Friends against slavery.

Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, embracing the minutes of the General Presbytery and the General Synod, 1706-1788, together with an Index and the Minutes of the Convention of Religious Liberty, 1766-1775. Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publications and Sabbath School Work. 1904.

Records of the Philadelphia Synod. Philadelphia, 1912.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

An historical account of the incorporated Society for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, containing the foundation, proceedings, and the success of the missionaries in the British Colonies, to the year 1728. By David Humphreys, D.D., secretary to the Honourable Society. London, printed by J. Downing, 1730.

Washington, George. The writings of George Washington; being his correspondence, addresses, messages, and other papers, official and private, selected and published from

the original manuscripts; with a life of the author, notes and illustrations. By Jared Sparks—New York, Harper & Brothers, 1847-1848.

Historical sermons along Mason and Dixon Lines, with sketching of the old families there in 1876. Collected by Edward A. Townsend.

CONTENTS:

Townsend, Rev. Stephen, Centennial Thanksgiving Sermon; Preached in the Presbyterian Church, in Atglen, Chester County, Pennsylvania, November 30th, 1876; Philadelphia, 1877.

DuBois, The Rev. Robert P. Historical Discourse delivered on the occasion of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the New London Presbyterian Church, Chester County, Pennsylvania, June 22, 1876; Oxford, Pennsylvania, 1876.

Gives an account of Rev. Francis Allison.

Spottswood, Rev. J. B. An Historical Sketch of the Presbyterian Church, in New Castle, Delaware. Philadelphia, 1859.

Gayley, Rev. Samuel An Historical Sketch of the Lower West Nottingham Presbyterian Church. Philadelphia, 1865.

Contains material on Delaware Churches.

Vallandigham, The Rev. James L. A Historical Discourse delivered July 2, 1876, at Head of Christiana Church, New Castle County, Delaware. Wilmington, Del., 1876.

Mackey, Rev. William D. White Clay Creek Presbyterian Church, Presbytery of New Castle, Wilmington, Del., 1876.

Noble, Rev. W. B. History of the Presbyterian Church of Hagg's Manor, Chester Co., Pa., 1730-1876. Parkesburg, Pa., 1876.

Easton, The Rev. William A Memorial Sermon preached in the United Presbyterian Church of Octoraro, on the Sabbath, June 9th, 1872. Philadelphia, 1873.

Contains material on the Presbytery of New Castle, Del.

- Johns, Rev. J. H. A History of the Rock Presbyterian Church in Cecil County, Maryland. Oxford, Pa., 1872.
Contains material on the New Castle Presbytery.
- Jones, George Edward. Lower Brandywine and its pastors for One Hundred and Fifty-six years, from 1720 to 1876. Wilmington, Delaware, 1876.
- Heberton, Rev. W. W. A History of the Elkton Presbyterian Church in Cecil County, Maryland. Elkton, Md., 1876.
Contains material on Pencader and the Head of Christiana Churches.
- Porter, Rev. George J. Historical Discourse delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, Newark, Delaware, July 22, 1876. Philadelphia, 1876.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Adams, John. The works of John Adams, second President of the United States; with a life of the author. Notes and illustrations, by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams—Boston, Brown & Co., 1850-56. 10v.
- American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia: Records of the, 1884-1922: 33 vols. Index. 1885-1920.
- The American Church History series, consisting of a series of denominational histories, published under the auspices of the American Society of Church History; general editors, Rev. Philip Schaff; Rt. Rev. H. C. Potter; Rev. Samuel M. Jackson, (New York, The Christian literature Co., 1893-97) 13. v.

Contents:

- v. 1. Religious forces of the United States, by H. K. Carroll.
2. Baptist Church, by A. H. Newman.
3. Congregational Church, by W. Walker.
4. Lutheran church, by H. E. Jacobs.
5. Methodist church, by J. M. Buckley.

6. Presbyterian church, by R. E. Thompson.
7. Protestant Episcopal church, by C. C. Tiffany.
8. Reformed church, Dutch, by E. C. Corwin.
Reformed church, German, by J. H. Dubbs;
Moravian church, by J. T. Hamilton.
9. Roman Catholic church, by T. O'Gorman.
10. Unitarian church, by J. H. Allen.
Universalist church, by R. Eddy.
11. Methodist Episcopal church, south, by G. Alexander.
Presbyterian church, south, by T. C. Johnson;
United Presbyterian church, by J. B. Sculler;
Cumberland Presbyterian church, by R. V. Foster.
12. Disciples of Christ, by R. B. Tyler;
Society of Friends, by A. C. Thomas.
United Brethren in Christ, by D. Berger.
Evangelical Association, by S. P. Spring.
13. Bibliography of American church history, by S. M. Jackson.

Anderson, James. The history of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies. London, The Johns Hopkins Press. 1856.

Applegarth, A. C. Quakers in Pennsylvania, Baltimore, D. Appleton & Co., 1859-60.

Armitage, Thomas. A history of the Baptists; traced by the vital principles and practices, from the time of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, to the year 1886—with an introduction by J. L. Curt—New York, Bryan, Taylor & Co., 1887.

Arnold, Samuel Greene. History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. 2 vols. New York, 1859-60.

Bachus, Isaac. History of the Baptists. Philadelphia, 1871.

Baird, Robert. Religion in America; or, an account of the origin relation to the state, and present condition of the Evangelical churches in the United States, New York, 1856.

- Barratt, N. S. Barrat's Chapel and Methodism, an Historical address. Wilmington, 1911. (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware. No. 53.)
- Benedict, David. History of the Baptists, Boston, 1813.
- Bowden, James. History of the Society of Friends. London, 1850-54. 2v.
- Braithewaite, William Charles. The Beginnings of Quakerism—with an introduction by Rufus M. Jones. New York, Macmillan Co., Limited. 1912.
- Breed, Rev. William Pratt. Presbyterians and the Revolution. Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publications, (c. 1876.)
- Briggs, Charles Augustus. American Presbyterianism, its origin and early history, together with an appendix of letters and documents, many of which have recently been discovered. New York, 1885. 2 maps.
- Buckley, J. M. A history of the Methodists in the United States. New York, The Christian literature co., 1896.
- Cathcart, William. The Baptists and the American Revolution—Published by the author, S. A. George & Co., 1876.
- Cathcart, William. The Baptist Encyclopedia; a dictionary of doctrines, ordinances, usages of faith, etc., of Baptist denominations in all lands. With biographical sketches of distinguished Baptists, and a supplement. (Also an appendix, Philadelphia, 1881.)
- Catholic Encyclopedia: 11 vols. Vol. 4. (Knights of Columbus edition.) N. J. 1907-1914.
- Clarkson, Thomas. The history of the rise and progress, and accomplishment of the abolition of the African slave-trade of the British Parliament. Abridged by Evan Lewis. Wilmington, Printed by R. Porter, 1816.
- Clay, Rev. Jehus Curtis. Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware, from their first settlement in 1636 to the present time. 2d. ed. cor. & enl. Philadelphia, F. Foster, 1858.

- Cobb, Sanford H. *The rise of Religious Liberty in America.* New York. The Macmillan Co., 1902.
- Conrad, Henry Clay. *History of the State of Delaware from the earliest settlements to the year 1907.* Wilmington, Del. The author, 1908. 3v.
- Dexter, Franklin B. *Estimates of population in American colonies.* (In *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. V.)
- Early, Jubal A. *The heritage of the South; a history of the introduction of slavery; its establishment from colonial times and final effect upon the policies of the United States.* Lynchburg, Va., 1915.
- Edwards, Morgan. *History of the Baptists in Delaware,* (In *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, IX.)
- Ferris, Benjamin. *A history of the original settlements on the Delaware from its discovery by Hudson to the colonization under William Penn. To which is added an account of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Swedish settlers to the present time—*Wilmington, Wilson & Heald, 1846.
- Fisher, Sydney George. *The Quaker Colonies: a chronicle of the proprietors of the Delaware.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919.
- Fiske, John. *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America.* Boston (c. 1902.) 2v.
- Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America.* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1915.
- Fox, George. *An autobiography; edited with an introduction and notes, by Rufus M. Jones.* Philadelphia, Ferris E. Leach, 1904.
- Frothingham, Richard, *The Rise of the Republic of the United States.* 5th edition. Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1880.
- Gillett, Ezra Hall. *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States,* Philadelphia, 1864. 2v.

- Hawkes, Francis Lester. Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States of America. New York, 1836-1839.
- Hawkes, Francis Lester. A Narrative of Events connected with the Rise and Progress of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. New York, 1836.
- Hawkins, Ernest. Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies, previous to the independence of the United States. London, 1845.
- Headley, J. F. Chaplains and Clergy in the American Revolution. Springfield, Mass. 1861.
- Historical Society of Delaware. Historical and Biographical Papers. Wilmington; v. 1-4. 1879-1904.
- Hotchkin, Rev. Samuel Fitch. Early Clergy in Pennsylvania and Delaware. Philadelphia, P. W. Zeigler & Co., 1890.
- Janney, Samuel McPherson. History of the Religious Society of Friends, from its rise to the year 1828. Philadelphia, 1867.
- Jernegan, Marcus W. Slavery and Conversion in the American Colonies. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1916. (Reprinted from the American Historical Review. Vol. XXI, No. 3, April, 1916.)
- Jones, Rufus M. The Quakers in the American Colonies. London, 1911.
- Kellog, C. D. History of the First Presbyterian Church of Wilmington. Wilmington, 1865.
- Kinsman, F. J. The Old and the New.
- La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, Francois Alexandre Frederic (duc) de. Travels through the United States of North America, the country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797. 2d. ed. London, 1800. 3v.

- Lednum, John. *A History of Methodism in America*. Philadelphia, 1859.
- Lee, Alfred, Bishop. *Planting and Watering: Historical Sketches of the Protestant Episcopal Churches in Delaware*. Wilmington, 1822.
- Locke, Mary Stoughton. *Anti-Slavery in America, from the Introduction of the African Slaves to the Prohibition of the Slave-Trade, 1619-1808*. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1901.
- Matlack, Lucius C. *The Anti-Slavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church; with an introduction by Rev. D. D. Whelan*, New York, 1881.
- Matlack, Lucius. *The History of American Slavery and Methodism, from 1780 to 1847; the history of the Methodist connection of America, in two parts, with an appendix*. New York, 1849. 2v.
- McConnel, Samuel D. *History of the American Episcopal Church*. 10th ed. Milwaukee, Wis., 1916.
- McGill. *A Short History of American Presbyterianism*. n.p., n.d.
- McTyiere, Holland, N. A. *A History of Methodism, comprising a view in the first half of the eighteenth century, and of the principal agents by whom it was promoted in Europe and America; with some account of the doctrine and polity of Episcopal Methodism in the United States, and the means and manner of its extension down to A.D. 1884*. Nashville, Tenn., Southern Publishing House, 1884.
- Miller, Samuel. *Memoirs of John Rodgers*. N. Y. 1813. 42 vols.
- Murphy, Thomas. *Presbytery of the Log College, or, Cradle of the Presbyterian Church in America*. 526 p. par. Phil. 1889.
- Neill, Rev. E. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*. Vol. VIII.
- Pennsylvania Historical Society. *Memoirs*. Vols. 1, 2 (part 2) Vol. 12. Philadelphia, 1826-1876. 4v. in 12.

- Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 1877-1911. Philadelphia, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1877-1911. Vols. VIII and IX.
- Perry, W. S. History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883. Boston, 1885. 2v.
- Porter, George J. Historical Discourse in the First Presbyterian Church, Newark, Delaware, July 22, 1876. Philadelphia, 1876.
- Powell, Lyman. The History of Education in Delaware. Washington, Gov't Print. off. 1893.
- Proud, Robert. The Proud Papers (Robert Proud, Historian of Pennsylvania) embracing original manuscripts—early American almanacs—newspapers; Paxton boy pamphlets, early histories of Pennsylvania—Bradford and other imprints. G. Stan. V. Henkels, Philadelphia, The Morris Press, 1902.
- Sharpless, Isaac. A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania—Philadelphia, F. S. Leach, 1879.
Vol. I, A Quaker Experiment in Government.
Vol. II, The Quakers in the Revolution.
- Source Book and Geographical Guide for American Church History
- Spottswood, J. B. Historical sketch of the Presbyterian Church in New Castle, Delaware. Phila. 1859.
- Sprague, William B. Annals of the American Pulpit—commemorative notices of distinguished American clergymen of various denominations, from the early settlement of the country to the close of the year 1855. New York, 1865-1873. 9v.
- Stille, Charles Janeway. The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732-1808. Prepared at the Request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co. 1891.
- Tilton, James. The Biographical History of Dionysius (George Read) Tyrant of Delaware, addressed to the people of

the United States of America. by Timoleen. (Dr. James Tilton) of Delaware. Philadelphia, 1788.

On the title page:

"He who understands to govern a people by corruption, and to lead them by a false interest against their true interest cannot boast the honour of the invention; the expedient is as old as the world; and he can pretend to no other Honor, than that of being an humble imitation of the Devil."—Instructive Maxims, Pol. & Mor.—See Col. Mag. for 1787.

Todd, R. W. Methodism in the Peninsula. Philadelphia, 1886.

Townsend, G. A. Historical Sermons, centennial sermons along Mason and Dixon's Line. Philadelphia, 1887.

Two Hundredth Anniversary of Pencader Presbyterian Church. (In Wilmington Sunday Star, Sept. 18, 1907, p. 3.)

Vallandigham, J. L. The History of the Presbytery of New Castle, 1777-1888. Philadelphia, n.d.

Vedder, Henry Clay. The Baptists. New York. Baker & Taylor Co. (1903.)

Webster, Richard. A History of the Presbyterian Church in America. With a Memoir of the author by C. Van Renssler, and an historical introduction by W. Blackwood. Phil. 1857.

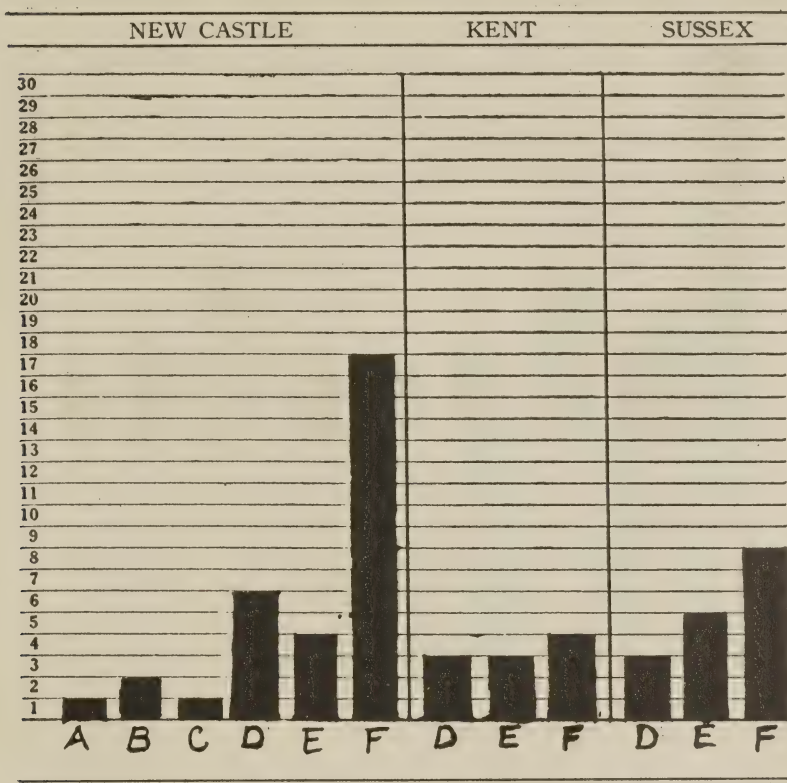
Weeks, Stephen Bauregard. History of Public Education in Delaware. Washington, Gov't Printing Office, 1917.

Wickersham, James Pyle. A History of Education in Pennsylvania; private and public, elementary and higher. From the time the Swedes settled on the Delaware to the present day. Published by the author, Lancaster, Pa. Inquirer Publishing Co., 1886.

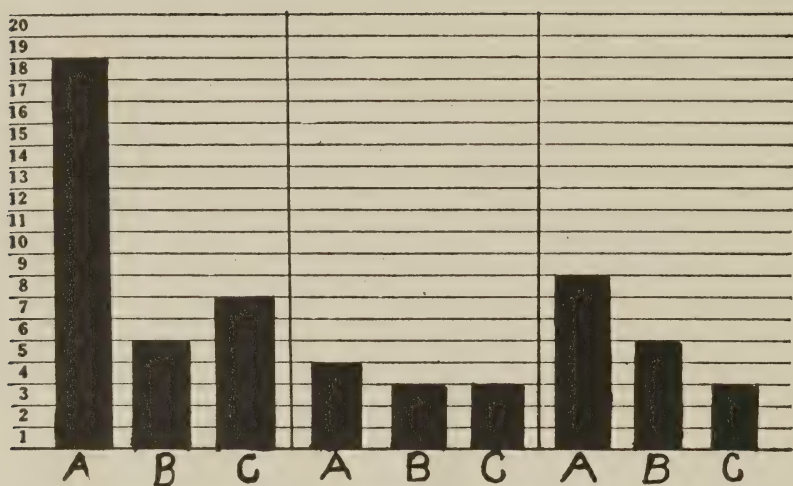
Wilberforce, Samuel. A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. 2d. ed., London, 1846. (The Englishman's Library.)

Woody, George McKennon. Washington and his comrades in arms; a chronicle of the War of Independence. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921.

Diagram showing the number of churches in each County in 1776



- A—BAPTISTS
 B—CATHOLICS
 C—LUTHERANS
 D—QUAKERS
 E—EPISCOPALIANS
 F—PRESBYTERIANS



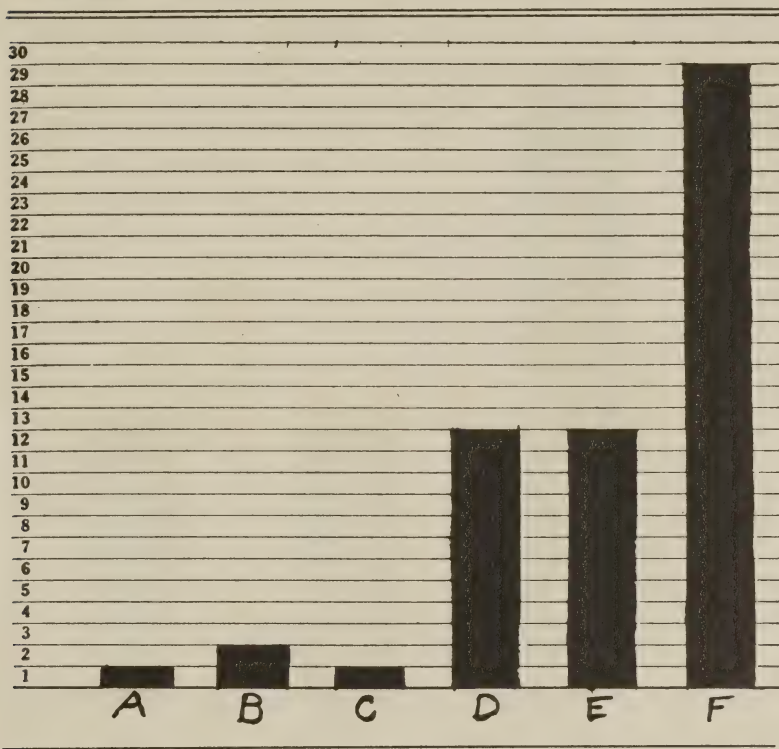
Numerical strength of the Patriots, Loyalists and Non-Combatants by Counties.

	NEW CASTLE	KENT	SUSSEX	
	New Castle County	Kent County	Sussex County	Total number in Del.
A. Patriots.....	18	4	8	30
B. Loyalists....	5	3	5	13
C. Non-Com....	7	3	3	13
Total number of Churches.....	30	10	16	56

Percentage of Patriots, Loyalists and Non-Combatants, by Counties.

	New Castle County	Kent County	Sussex County	Total percent. in Del. 1776
Patriots.....	60 %	13.3%	26.7%	53.6%
Loyalists.....	38.4%	23 %	38.4%	23.2%
Non-Combatants.	53.8%	23.1%	23.1%	23.2%
All denominations	50.8%	19.8%	29.4%	100 %

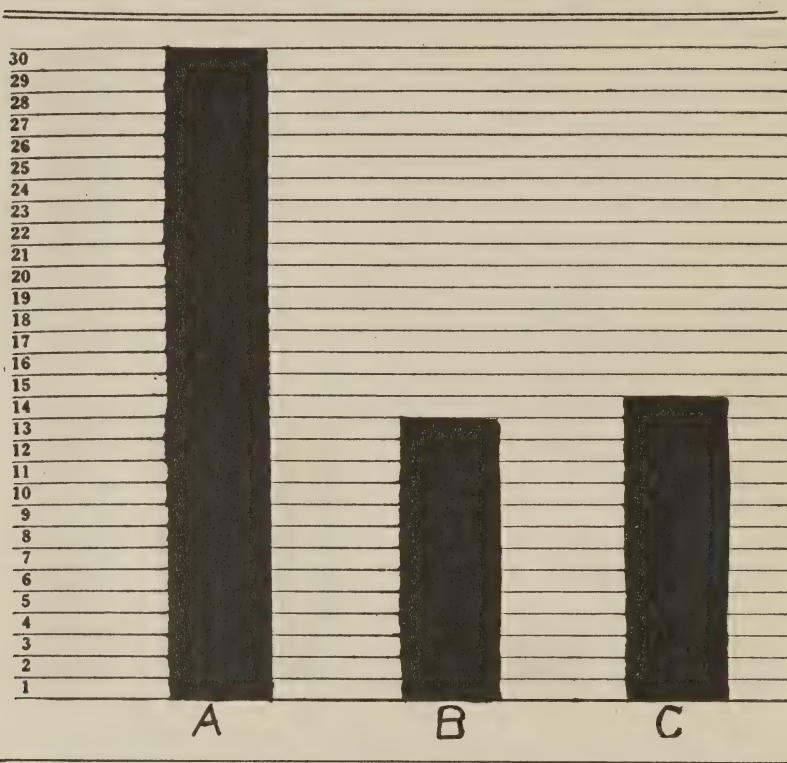
Diagram showing the comparison of the number of churches in each denomination in 1776.



A—BAPTISTS 1
 B—CATHOLICS 2
 C—LUTHERANS 1
 D—QUAKERS 12
 E—EPISCOPALIANS 12
 F—PRESBYTERIANS 29

NOTE:—Figures represent number of churches.

Numerical strength of Patriots, Royalists and Non-Combatants among the various denominations in Delaware in 1776. ¹



¹A—PATRIOTS (Presbyterians and Baptists) 30

B—LOYALISTS (Episcopalians and Lutherans) . . . 13

C—NON-COMBATANTS (Quakers and Catholics) . . 13

STATISTICAL TABLES¹

1 Numerical Comparison of Denominations by Counties.

Denominations	New Castle County	Kent County	Sussex County	Total
BAPTISTS	1			1
CATHOLICS	2			2
EPISCOPALIANS	4	3	5	12
LUTHERANS	1			1
PRESBYTERIANS	17	4	8	29
QUAKERS	6	3	3	12
Number of churches in each County	31	10	16	57

2 Churches according to the population in Delaware, in 1776

Denominations	Number of Churches	Number of churches per thousand population
BAPTISTS	1	.028
CATHOLICS	2	.056
EPISCOPALIANS	12	.337
LUTHERANS	1	.028
PRESBYTERIANS	29	.823
QUAKERS	12	.337
Totals	57	2.309

¹Approximate Numbers

NOTE:—The population in 1776 was 37,219 including slaves
 Number of slaves was 2000
 Number of whites was 35,219

The above table was based on the white population.

INDEX

- ACRELIUS, REV. ISRAEL, (Swedish Lutheran) 51; receives books from S. P. G., 56.
- APPOQUINIMINCK MISSION, established by Jesuits, 7.
- APPOQUINIMINCK EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 25.
- ASBURY, FRANCIS, (Methodist), desires to live in peace, 31; at dedication of Methodist Church in Wilmington, 18; first meeting with Thomas Coke, 20; opposed to slavery, 77-78.
- BAPTISTS, 1; settlement and growth, 3-5; attitude toward the Revolution, 21-23; attitude toward education, 52-53; and slavery, 73; help to spread liberalism, 53; forbid religions in their college, 53.
- BARRATT's Chapel, the "Cradle of Methodism in America," 20; meeting place of Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke, 20; the third oldest Methodist Church in the world, 20.
- BJORIK, (Swedish Missionary), superintends the building of "Holy Trinity Church," 13; his description of the Church, 13-14.
- BRADFORD, WILLIAM, of the Board of War, Philadelphia, receives letter from Rev. Matthew Wilson, 38.
- BRAY, REV. M., of Maryland, secures charter for propagation of the gospel, 8.
- BROAD CREEK HUNDRED, Church built in, 5.
- CATHOLICS, settlement and growth, 6-7, evidence as to their existence at the outbreak of the Revolution, 5-6.
- CHADD'S FORD, battle of, 41.
- CHURCH OF ENGLAND, handicapped, 9; downfall due to Presbyterians, 43; becoming unpopular, 56.
- CLARK, a Tory, seized by the Presbyterians, 40; repulsed by the Light Infantry, 40.
- CLOUD, MISS, converted under Captain Webb, 19; preaching of Methodism at her home, 19.
- CLOUD, ROBERT, one of the first Methodist preachers in Delaware, 19; neighborhood preaching by the family of, 19-20.
- COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY, the, organization of, 59, 61; policy of, 61.
- COUCH'S BRIDGE, skirmish at, 41.
- COWGILL, JOHN (Quaker) of Duck Creek, arrested, 45.
- COWMARSH, branch of Welsh Tract Church, 5.
- CRANE HOOK CHURCH, under Bjork, 13.
- CRAWFORD, REV. THOMAS, efforts for education in Kent County, 55; circulates books in Sussex County, 55.
- DAVIES, SAMUEL, (Presbyterian), 14.
- DELAWARE, dispute over title of, 11; loses records in the war, 35; in the path of the enemy, 35; religious affairs and civil matters, 36.

DENOMINATIONS IN DELAWARE, 1; reasons for settling, 9.

DICKINSON, JOHN, (Quaker), writer of "Farmers' Letters," 45; rebukes Parliament, 45.

DISSENTERS (1727), 11; reaction against episcopal ascendancy, 23; increased numerical strength before the Revolution, 24.

DRAWYERS' CREEK CHURCH (Presbyterian) and its plucky pastor, 41.

DUCK CREEK, settlement of Baptists, 5.

DUFF, COLONEL, on Washington's staff, 41; plans midnight escape for Washington, 42.

DUTCH, the, object to English minister, 7.

EDUCATION, in Delaware, 50-71; chief requirements of the curriculum, 50; reasons for neglect of, 51; Dutch and Swedish education, 51-52; Baptist education, 52-53; Episcopalian education, 53-56; Presbyterian education, 56-62; Quaker education, 62-63; private education, 63-71; Wilmington Schools, 63-66; Newark Academy (Presbyterian), 66-69; Kent County Schools, 69-70; Sussex County schools, 70-71; standards raised by Presbyterians, 58; Episcopalian education and its relation to the S. P. G., 53.

EDWARDS, MORGAN, 4; a loyalist, 23; latter part of his life spent in Delaware, 23; his sons in both armies, 23.

EPISCOPALIANS, enthusiastic missionaries in early eighteenth century, 9; settlement and growth, 7-12; attitude toward the Revolution, 23-31; attitude toward education, 53-56; and slavery, 74-76; movement for an Episcopacy, 23.

EVANS, THOMAS, a noted deacon, 4; supervises an Academy in Pencader county, 52, 53.

FAME, REV. STEPHEN, successor of Father Sittenberger, 7.

FILSON, JAMES, schoolmaster, 65; famous historian in Kentucky, after the Revolution, 65.

FORSBERG, NILS, schoolmaster, 51.

FOTHERGILL, (Quaker), rebukes English ministry, 44.

FURNESS, ROBERT, of New Castle, the first person to welcome Methodist preachers into his home, 19.

GARRETSON, Freeborn, (Methodist) and slavery, 77.

HALLAHAN, CORNELIUS, 5.

HAZLET, COLONEL, of the Delaware Regiment, 40.

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, described, 13-14; still standing, 14.

IMMANUEL CHURCH, (in New Castle), first permanent Episcopal Church in Delaware, 7; tribulations of the early missionaries there.

INGLIS, REV. M., of New York, formerly of Delaware, accounts for the uniformity of the conduct of the Presbyterians, 43.

JAMES, JAMES, a ruling elder, 4.

JONES, REV. DAVID, Brigade Captain under General Wayne, 23.

JONES, REES, interested in Baptist education, 52.

KEITH, GOVERNOR WILLIAM (Episcopalian) investigates conditions in Delaware in behalf of the Church of England, 56.

KENT COUNTY, insurrections in 39-40; few schools in, 69; poor methods and poor teachers in, 70.

- LEWES, proposal of Presbytery of, for a college, 57; chief work of Lewes Presbytery 58; results of the initiative of Lewes Presbytery, 60.
- LIGHT INFANTRY OF DELAWARE, in charge of Captain Robinson, 39; imprisonment of, threatened by acting Governor, George Read, 40.
- LOG COLLEGE, organization encouraged by Lewes Presbytery, 60; objections of adherents to a Synodical College asserted, 60-61; death of William Tennant, the President of, 61.
- LOWER BRANDYWINE CHURCH, condition of during the war, 41.
- LOYALISTS in Sussex County, 39.
- LUTHERANS, 2; settlement and growth, 12-14; amalgamated by the English, 12; Crane Hook Church built by, 12-13; and education, 50-51; and slavery, 76-77.
- MCCREARY, MR. (Presbyterian), pastor of Head of Christiana Church, 42.
- METHODISTS, 18; not organized into churches, 18; attractive features of, 20; settlement and growth, 18-20; attitude toward the Revolution, 31; and slavery, 77-78; views of their leader, Francis Asbury, 77-78; manumission of slaves by Freeborn Garretson, 77.
- MILES, COLONEL, in Sussex County, 40.
- MILLER, REV. JOHN, of Dover, (Presbyterian) 42.
- MISPILLION, branch of Welsh Tract, 5.
- MISSIONARIES, not their own masters, 9; supply several churches, 9-10; petitions from Episcopalians for, 10; trials of, 11.
- NEILL, LIEUTENANT HENRY, advises Rev. Wilson to be cautious, 38.
- NEWARK ACADEMY, foundations laid, 66; racial elements of students of, 66-67; history of, 67; the first principal called "the greatest classical scholar in America," 67; famous men who attended, 67-68; importance of, 68; rank as a College of a high type of learning, 68-69.
- OLD ACADEMY OF WILMINGTON, built by chief leaders of the town, 66.
- PEMBERTON, (Quaker), opposes Parliament, 44.
- PENCADER HUNDRED, Baptists in, 3; academy in, 52.
- PHILADELPHIA BAPTIST ASSOCIATION, 21; joined forces with Continental Congress, 21-22; offers spiritual and material aid, 22; influence as a religious body, 22; united action of, 22; work in the army, 22-23.
- PHILADELPHIA SYNOD, insists that unity means strength, 36; calls for contributions for a plan of union, 36; caution about foreign ministers.
- PRESBYTERIANS, settlement and growth, 14-16; attitude toward the Revolution, 32-34; attitude toward education, 56-62; 66-69; attitude toward slavery, 78-79; vague evidence as to first settlement in Delaware, 14; granted right to issue marriage licenses, 11; reasons for emigrating to America, 14; education of first immigrants, 14; organization, 14-15; beginning of effective work in Delaware, 15; Presbyterian ministers "not instrumental in flaming the minds of the people," 33; did not wish to conceal their opinions, 34; advise their societies to have respect for the King, 34; advice to their members to maintain the union, 34; fighting for civil and religious liberty, 34; patriotism of, in Delaware, 36; importance of, in the Revolution, 42; unanimity for independence, 43; leadership for civil and religious liberty, 58; requirements for the ministry, 56-58; establish a college, 57; advantages over Episcopalians, 58.
- PRESBYTERY OF LEWES, organized, 15; proposes plans for a college.

PRESBYTERY OF NEW CASTLE, 15; schism (1741), 15.

QUAKERS, 1, 2; settlement and growth, 16-18; attitude toward the Revolution, 43-49; attitude toward education, 62-63, 66; and slavery, 73, 79-82, 83; meetings interrupted by Episcopal missionaries, 9; number of meeting houses in 1776, 17; cause of decline of, 17-18; attitude toward war (1755), 18; "Golden Age," of the Quakers ends, 18; withdrawal from the Assembly, 43; methods of, in war time, 43-44; disapproval of the Stamp Act, 44; the younger group, 44-45; opposition to war (1775), 45, 46; patriotic tendencies, 47; sufferings of Friends, 49; the first body to make provision for a school of Industrial Arts, 62; the first body to provide for a public school system in America, 62; early laws on education, 62; compulsory education, 63; Old Friends' School (built 1748) still standing, 63; general provisions for elementary schools 63; humane treatment of slaves, 79; careful about religious instruction of negroes, 79; effort to liberate slaves (1758), 80; noted Quaker, John Woolman, urges freedom of slaves, 80; decided action against slavery (1776) 80; Delaware the first country in the world to make a special enactment against slavery, 80; first union with other denominations to abolish slavery, 81; Delaware Quakers cease to buy slaves, 82.

READ, DR. THOMAS, and Washington, 41.

READ, GEORGE, Acting Governor during the Revolution, 40.

READING, REV. PHILIP, gives evidence as to the existence of a Catholic Church in New Castle County, (1760) and (1775), 6; reports on his Church at Appoquinimy, Delaware (1775), 24; proclaims his loyalty to the King, and the maintenance of his principles, 24; expresses attitude of the clergy toward the Revolution, 24-26; his respect for the S. P. G., 27; his reasons for remaining a loyalist, 27; considers the prayers for the Congress and for Parliament to be similar, 27; his strength of character, 27-30; receives warnings from the people of Delaware, 29; has no designs on the new government, 30; deplores the neglect of masters for their slaves, 75.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY granted by proprietors in Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, 15; attracts Presbyterians to America, 15.

ROBINSON, MR., a loyalist, denied a seat in the Assembly, 39.

RODGERS, DR., in the Continental Army, 22-23.

ROSS, GEORGE, of New Castle, gives an account of his Church, (1727), 10; his interest in education, 10-11, 54; describes conditions in Delaware (1727), 54-55.

ROSSITER, REV. JOHN, officer of Rochembeau's army, 7.

RUSSELL JOHN, schoolmaster at Lewes, 70.

SHIPLEY, ELIZABETH, (Quaker), death of, 47; effect of her last words, 47; facts of her death published by a whig paper, 47-48; reply of the Pennsylvania Ledger, (Tory), 48.

SITTENBERGER, FATHER MATTHEW, purchased a farm (1772), 7.

SLAVERY IN DELAWARE, 72-82; laws relating to, 72-73; Baptists and slavery, 73; Episcopalians and slavery, 74; S. P. G. Workers and slavery, 74-76; Mr. Pugh deplores the prejudice against slaves, 76.

SMITH, REV. M., famous revolutionist, 41.

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL, outline of their work, 8; sends committee to colonies, 8-9; makes record of dissenters, 9; pur-

- pose, 54; first organization for universal education in Delaware, 54; send an allowance for purchase of books, 55; gives aid for education until 1770, 56; last service of the Society in Delaware, 56.
- SOUNDS BAPTIST CHURCH, 5.
- SPENCER, REV. ELKIN, of St. George (Presbyterian), 42.
- SPOTTSWOOD, REV. DR., eulogizes the Presbyterians in the Revolutionary period, 36.
- STILES, REV., EZRA, respecting slavery, 78.
- SUSSEX COUNTY INSURRECTIONS, 40; reaction against Congress, 40.
- SWEDES SETTLEMENT, 12; and Old Swedes Church in Wilmington, 12-14;
- SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA, established, 15; influence on Presbyterians in Delaware, 16; rank of Delaware representation in the Synod, 16.
- SYNOD OF NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA, (1775) 16.
- TENNENT, WILLIAM (Presbyterian) President and founder of Log College, at Neshiminy, 60.
- THEDWELL, JOHN, schoolmaster, 64.
- TILTON, DR. JAMES, publishes propaganda, 38.
- TORIES IN SUSSEX COUNTY, 39.
- UNION OF THE PRESBYTERIANS (1766), 34; revives the old plan of union for the purpose of preserving religious liberty in the colonies, 35.
- WASHINGTON, GEORGE, in New Castle County, 41; Rev. Thomas Reed provides means of escape from the enemy, 41-42.
- WAY, MRS. ELIZABETH (Baptist), famous school of, 64.
- WEBB, CAPTAIN, (Methodist), 19; preaching in Delaware, 19.
- WELSH NECK, 4.
- WELSH TRACT CHURCH (Baptist), 1; first Baptist Church in Delaware, 3; progress of, 4; branches of, 4; and education, 52; influence in Philadelphia Baptist Association, 53.
- WESLEY, JOHN, creates antagonism against the Methodists, 31.
- WHIGS IN DELAWARE, 39.
- WILMINGTON SCHOOLS, 63-64; numerous private schools in, 64; Mrs. Way's school, 64; John Thedwell's school, 64-65; other noted schoolmasters, 65; main features of the schools, 65-66; the Old Academy of Wilmington, 66.
- WILSON, MASTER, (Schoolmaster), 65.
- WILSON, REV. MATTHEW, of Lewes, plans for unity of Presbyterian body, recommended as a good study for the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, 37; his influence in the Philadelphia Synod, in civil and religious affairs, 37; forbids his family to purchase tea from England, 37; a member of a committee to aid Boston, 38; proposed remedy to counteract Tory influence, 38; member of committee of observation.
- YEO, REV. JOHN, at New Castle (1678-1681), 7.

DATE DUE

~~JUN 15 1976~~

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A

BW4211 .W33
Churches in Delaware during the

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00034 6751